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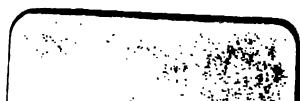
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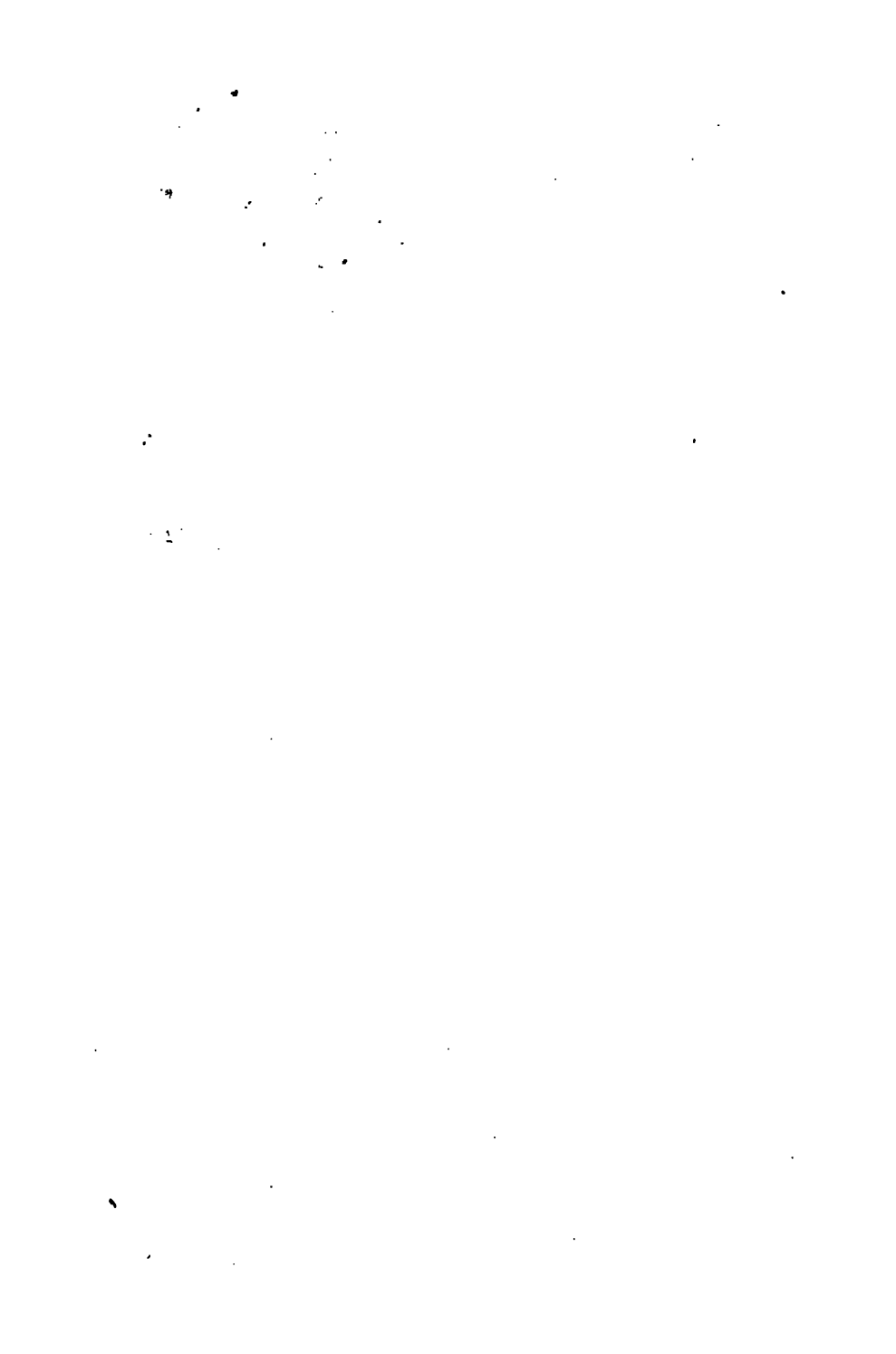
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PRUSSIA AND THE POOR;

OR,

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE SYSTEMATIZED

RELIEF OF THE POOR

AT

E L B E R F E L D ,

IN CONTRAST WITH THAT OF ENGLAND.

FOUNDED UPON A VISIT AND PERSONAL INQUIRY.

WITH

A N A P P E N D I X ,

CONTAINING :—

I. The “ International ;” II. Register of “ Deaths from Starvation ” in London from 1862 to 1865 ; III. The Alderman, the Street Preacher, and the Poor ; IV. Correspondence, &c. ; V. Sermons.

BY THE

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“ WEALTH IS NOT HEALTH.” “ TOUT BIEN OU BIEN.”

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PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE writer of the following pages has been led, from time to time, through the ever changing phases of social politics, to defer their publication. On returning to England, in 1873, from his visit to Elberfeld—whither, when residing on the Continent, he had gone for the express purpose of inquiring into the system there adopted for the relief of the poor,—he happily found the labouring classes in England much better remunerated for their toil than when he went abroad in 1867 ; and, by consequence, not so much in need of parochial assistance. But, besides the fact that wages are again receding, in some parts, to their former inadequate scale, specially in some agricultural districts, for example, in Wiltshire and other counties, there is once again arising in the country, judging from the reported utterances of such speakers on social politics as Lords Lyttleton and Kimberley, the opinion that out-door relief must be given up, and the House Test rigorously enforced. Hence, then, the need that exists once again that poor-relief systems be reviewed, and matters pertaining to them fully ventilated.

But the author has also private, or rather personal, reasons for the printing of these pages, as well as public ones. This will be made apparent in the Appendix, which contains a correspondence recently passed between a certain Continental Society in connexion with the Church of England and himself. From this it will be seen that the writer has been compelled *volens volens*, would he have any regard for his good name, to come forward and challenge his foes to shew cause why they should represent him as unworthy

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to occupy, even temporarily, the pulpit of any of the British Chaplaincies abroad. They have done this on the ground of his professing sentiments, as they suppose, distasteful to many. They aim at stigmatising the author as a "political preacher." It is manifest that they base their objections on the charges which appeared first in the *Saturday Review*, in which the preacher—with so much charity on the part of the reviewer—is stigmatised as a '*Clerical Firebrand*;' but more especially on the charges brought against him some years ago by a Knighted Alderman, in the Marlborough Street Police Court. This Knight (of the Thistle, we will presume) seemed to regard the then Street Preacher as personally opposed to him, Sir Robert. On his banneret, it may be surmised, is conspicuously inscribed the defiant motto—" *Nemo me impune lacessit* !" Now, had he adhered to the truth in his Jeremiad before the puisne Rhadamanthus, an account of which was published the next morning in *The Times*, the preacher would have accepted it with all readiness, and without so much as a wish to reply, as he did the previous attack of the *Saturday Review*, despite its acrimony. But Sir Robert stated what was not true; and accordingly efforts were immediately made by the calumniated offender to rebut the charge. The magistrate, however, would not allow him to defend himself, or to call witnesses, but gratuitously insulted him, and drove him from the judgment-seat. But what has been the result of all this to the preacher all these years since? From the correspondence referred to it will be seen that nowhere on the Continent, including both Hesperias, was he permitted, for a period extending between six and seven years, through the persecuting malevolence of those who hate the friends of the poor, to exercise his sacred calling in peace. Everywhere, and at all times, he found himself spoken against and suspected of everything that was unlovely and of ill report. Even friends who asked his assistance in their pulpits were tampered with, and brought over in some instances to the side of his opponents and calumniators. As the Society referred to above has stated, he was regarded as a "public character," and that in the worst sense of the words. It

will be seen, too, from this correspondence, that the author is still considered to hold sentiments unworthy of the clerical profession. These things being so, it is high time that he should defend himself against misrepresentations so injurious to himself and his work as a preacher of the Gospel. He cannot "let bygones be bygones," because of their *continued pernicious results* ; and, therefore, because others will not suffer them to be bygones. His foes have only been too successful for him to remain silent one moment longer. He had hoped that they would in time lay aside their hostility, and suffer him to prosecute the duties of his sacred calling, whether at home or abroad, in peace and quietness. The truth is, the *Saturday Review* and the belligerent City Knight did their work too effectually for the humble name of the object of their malignant opposition to be allowed to sink into oblivion.

From the above remarks it will be seen that the author can produce strong reasons for allowing *now* to appear his letter to Sir Robert C——, the MS. of which, as will be seen from the date, has lain in his desk more than the period recommended by the Roman satirist to writers in general, whom he dehorts from rushing into print. He had intended to impose the duty of publishing this *brochure* on his executors. But circumstances, both of a public and private nature, constrain him to bring forth at once to a discerning public "things both new and old."

In adding his own private Register of Deaths from Starvation, which occurred in London alone during less than a moiety of the last decade of years, as attested by Coroners' Inquests, he feels that no apology is needed. Theories are fallacious ; facts are indubitable and indisputable. Let the advocates of Bastilles for the deserving poor defend, if they can, their system in face of such appalling records. Further, let the Temperance nostrum-mongers of every shade hold their peace. Not a single case of death from destitution in these registrations was attributed either by the Coroner or Jury to drunkenness. We should not advert to these *good* people—for undoubtedly drunkenness is a crying evil in the land, and Temperance Societies do well to decry it—were it not that they

too often attribute to it as a cause results which are in no wise produced by it ; and, at the same time, shew themselves too often "partial in the law." As to the former, the old story touching the sapient Wiltshire jury applies here. An inquest was held on the body of a man found dead on Salisbury Plain. The Coroner, on discovering indications that the poor man had perished by his own hand, suggested the verdict of "*Felo da se*," which the learned foreman interpreted—being guided, it may be presumed, more by the sound than the sense—"Fell into the sea." Difficulties were urged by one at least of the twelve, on the ground of there being no sea near Stonehenge ; but these were speedily set aside by the foreman, with the remark that "the Coroner knows best." The suicide, therefore, according to the verdict, "fell into the sea" on Salisbury Plain ! Now, the parallel in the present day is just this : People perish through want of food and the necessaries of life—fuel among the rest, in our inclement part of the Temperate Zone—and the single cut and dried verdict of the temperance tribe is, "Death from drunkenness." As to the one-sidedness of this quackery, we would say :—If beer-drinking must be stopped, club-house potations should be inquired into. The boast of England is that all men are equal in the eye of the law. Yes, rich and poor here must be tarred with the same brush. We trust that the Rev. Basil Wiberforce had an eye to some thing more than beer-drinking when, according to his speech, as reported in the *Gloucester Chronicle*, date April 10, 1875, he thus expressed himself :—"I venture to say from my experience of this sin of drunkenness, that it has ruined more young men starting in life, it has robbed of their honour more pure women, it has brought down more grey hairs with bitter sorrow to the grave, it has emptied more churches and chapels, and, I say, it has damned more souls than all the sins of the Ten Commandments rolled into one." So, then, our new school of Moral Philosophy has discovered an important *omission* in the Decalogue. Moses is weighed in their newly-invented scales, and found wanting. Murder, adultery, fraud—these are as the small dust of the balance. Our Divorce Court, and all other

Courts of Justice, must of course be pronounced impertinent, and bidden forthwith to close their doors. Deeds of violence, adultery, chicanery (what a blessed gospel for public companies !) are mere *peccadillos*. Nay, it is taught that these sins only enter into the man together with the alcohol. Hence that favourite phrase, "demon drink," of the new gossellers. Wisdom once proclaimed upon the house tops, "*not* that which entereth into a man defileth the man." These public instructors, on the other hand, hold and teach that "the heart of man, out of which proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, &c., &c.," only becomes evil when inspired by liquor. Philip sober is a saint !

Should the movement among the agricultural labourers extend to all the counties, so that the wages of the sons of the soil become fairly proportionate to their reasonable wants, the "House Test" will become in a manner obsolete, as it regards this portion of the labouring population, from the paucity of applications for relief. This *desideratum* is, doubtless, that which animates those who support this movement. All honour to them, therefore ; and, despite the fact that certain Episcopal charges seem to betray some hesitation on the part of those delivering them, as to the duty of the Clergy sanctioning these efforts among the rural poor for securing *self-relief*, all charitably disposed persons cannot but hail with the highest satisfaction the prospect of seeing those by whose toil "the staff of life" is maintained, relieved from the dread of the Union, with its prison life, and all its horrors for old age and honesty. The writer, for one, rejoices at this self-emancipation of the rural population ; and heartily bids "God speed" to all who have been raised up in the good providence of God to assist their poor brethren in working out this Exodus from the oppressive grasp of the Mammon-Pharaoh.

Other Church-rulers are deploring the spirit of the age as betraying no fixed principles and shewing that something is yet lacking "in the state of Denmark." Let us boldly tell them that that indefinable 'something' is charity—charity for those "who have none to help." When true Christianity shall prevail,

'Bastilles' will be a thing of the past. "The end of the commandment is charity.'

It is this loving spirit which has influenced the people of Elberfeld. Hence they enjoy the two-fold happiness of knowing that they have performed a Christian duty, and also that of seeing not only that the unfortunate and the afflicted are sympathised with and relieved, but also raised from their degradation and misery and then enabled to help others, thus passing from the class of the relieved to the relieving one. Their plan is not to pauperise permanently, but to elevate. To accomplish this, all persons who have the requisite time at their disposal assist in the distribution of the money raised for the relief of the poor. They do not make "a job" of distress. Poor-law Presidents and Commissioners with them must do their work for the love of it, not that they and their families may ride in their carriages supported by money which should relieve the destitute. This is Prussia's method of assisting the poor. May England, for once, confess that she has been misled by her self-styled Political Economists, and learn, though late, "the more excellent way." For England's God it is that bids her "go and do likewise."

What efforts have been made of late years for the *evangelisation* of the million! But where are the results? As to the National Church, she has long since been constrained to confess that she has lost the working population. Ah, is there not a cause? Time was when the poor, wasted with sickness and starving through being thrown out of employment found sympathy with their "spiritual pastors and masters." But the new Poor-law Amendment Act introduced another state of things; and from that unhappy moment the poor have not ceased year by year to be more and more alienated from the Church of their fathers. Churches may be built, aye, and expressly for them, but they decline the proffered boon; and if they are Sunday worshippers at all, they are to be found at the Conventicle. Even the American Evangelists met with indifference from the producing classes. These latter have discovered that 'faith' as in St. James's day can still be dis-

sociated from charity (love) ; and that lock-ups which they call (specially in Yorkshire) Bastilles, with prison dress and "skilly" withal, for used up toilers, is no proof that the teachers and preachers who uphold such systems of poor-relief, have "verily and indeed" received themselves the regenerating gospel which they seem so intent on urging upon the acceptance of their less fortunate neighbours. They discover from "*The Book and its Story*" that those who first preached "Jesus and the Resurrection" were content to share and share alike, as to "the bread that perisheth" with those who received their doctrine. No doubt this state of things did not long continue ; but nobody heard in the early and best days of Christianity of its members being suffered by their fellow-members to perish of starvation ; or, of such a contrast as is presented by the boundless extravagance of the rich and the awful destitution of the poor, in our own day ; or, of millionaires on the one side and penniless mendicants on the other ; of those who fare sumptuously *every* day and the thousands who know not how to contrive to get enough to keep body and soul together ; of Lord Mayor's Feasts and our Legion of Lazaruses subsisting nobody knows how, but certainly not even on the crumbs falling from the groaning tables. Evangelists, would they be received by the million, must give them the Gospel "whole and undefiled." Our heart's desire and prayer to God is that the poor may be saved as well as the rich ; but how can this be, if they are virtually excommunicated, cut off from Christ and all participation in the means of grace for the growth of their souls, by their appalling destitution ?

What confusion everywhere prevails as to the very foundations of all morality ! *The Times* seems bewildered at contemplating it. The *Bremerhaven* monstrosity demonstrates that the unsuspecting multitude are ever moving over *cineres suppositos*. Total abstainers will of course be ready to swear that the inspiring dæmon of the Thomases and the Wainwrights was drink. The fabricator of the infernal machine, however, when dying, simply declared that he was "a native of New York." Yes, it is Brooklyn,

where "the almighty dollar" is so openly worshipped, that has the honour of generating both a Beecher and the Bremerhaven monster. Then, again, our publicists are compelled, however reluctantly, to confess that, as to *cana fides*, there is none. Its hoary hairs have been followed by dissolution. Witness the thousand and one nefarious companies launched under the auspices of noble Lords and Members of Parliament. Listen to the cries on all sides of the widow and the fatherless, defrauded of their means of existence by this flagrant chicanery. In any other nation in Europe the victims of these glaring frauds would be indemnified, by a righteous judicature, from the property of those who have elicited their confidence only to betray it. But, alas ! in England the defrauders are the makers and administrators of the laws.

What desolations, then, are wrought throughout the land ! And yet, what are they, after all, other than the natural outgoings of corrupt principles ? In 1833 appeared the Tracts for the Times. Oxford hereby elaborates a scheme that destroys the very foundation of morals. 'Non-natural' is the watch-word. Terms are now to profess a meaning the very opposite of that for which they were adopted and had for 300 years been employed ! The next year (1834) improves upon this spiritual teaching, and brings forth the New Poor Law Amendment Act, which for the charitable provision of the law of Elizabeth substitutes the most transparent sham to which England has ever closed her eyes. When for nearly a half century falsehood, as such, and cruelty to the poor has been allowed to supplant charity, under the plea of a false expediency, or the dictates of a 'philosophy' worse than false, who can marvel at beholding results which appal even the coolest and clearest heads of our thinkers ?

Let none, then, be surprised at finding in these pages some plain remarks touching the preachers of our age. The writer has long been convinced of the truth of Isaac Taylor's observation that the pulpit has lost its power of rebuke. Such honest thinkers, too, as John Ruskin, maintain that the times call for men endued with *the spirit of the ancient prophets*—men bold in their God to expose

and denounce the national corruption—men, like the herdsman of Tekoa, resolved, come what may, to reprobate the cruel oppression of their fellow citizens. Had such bold reprovers as “that fellow Micaiah,” the “man of Anathoth,” and the like, been found during these forty years, so that England had been led by their faithful remonstrances “to repent and do her first works,” how different from what it now is would be our history. Why are not the poor gathered unto Christ in our Churches and Chapels? Why, despite our vast outlay of money and men in the work of Missions, are not the millions of British India brought into the Church? Let the bold utterance of the educated Hindoo, who has just come before the public in the columns of *The Times*, answer this latter inquiry. Most truthfully does he tell us that, whilst seeking to proselyte others, our “own vineyard have we not kept,” and very especially does he remind us that “barbaric” India takes care of its poor, and does not begrudge them when used up the means of prolonging their existence.*

January, 1876.

* During the first half of the Franco-German War the writer was undertaking the duties of the British Chaplain at Lisbon. A member of the congregation at this period put into his hands a copy of a recently published controversy with the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago. The opponent of this member of the Romish hierarchy was a much respected clergyman of our Church, since deceased. The latter, in reply to the Cardinal, thus writes—“In your Catechism, where you are drawing a comparison between Protestants and Roman Catholics, you say, ‘I will only add that amongst Catholics the poor do not die of hunger as they do in London, for example, in whose streets some thousands of the bodies of those who died of hunger are picked up every year.’ Of course, this shocking exaggeration was not allowed to pass unchallenged by the Cardinal’s opponent. Still, what are we to say, what are we to plead, if hundreds are to be substituted for thousands? It has been often asserted by some of the most respectable organs of our press that some five hundred or more perish annually of starvation. Thus much is known and believed throughout Europe, if not in all parts of the civilised world.

That these deaths are strictly and properly attributable to our Poor Laws the following pages will abundantly demonstrate; that they occur not only in London, but also in our provincial towns, the following paragraph, taken from the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* of January 5th, 1876, will suffice to shew :—

“DEATH FROM STARVATION IN NEWCASTLE.

“Last evening an inquest was held by Mr J. T. Hoyle, coroner, at the Durham Ox Inn, on the body of Isabella Burdiss, 39 years of age. The sister of the deceased stated that the latter had lived for some time past with a man named George Ridley, in the Forth Banks, that they were very badly off, and that Ridley had nothing to support himself, except what he got by going about playing on a concertina.—George Ridley deposed that the deceased had lived with him for the last six months, and that previously she had been drinking for some time. They never had any butchers’ meat; and the

other day she went to see the relieving officer to get an order for the workhouse. She waited for two hours ; when she saw him he refused to give her an order, and told her to go away. On Sunday morning last, about half-past nine, he (witness) went to the deceased, who was lying in bed, but she did not speak to him. He took hold of her and found that she was dead. He informed the neighbours, and sent for Dr. May. The doctor deposed that the deceased was a perfect skeleton, and, from the evidence and the appearance of the body, he thought she had died from starvation. He examined the place, and there was not a scrap of food in it. The deceased and the bed were in a most filthy condition. The jury returned a verdict to the effect that her death had been accelerated by want of proper food, clothing, and nourishment."

The author for a week after searched this journal for some contradiction or explanation concerning the alleged conduct of this relieving officer, but *found none*. Judgment, therefore, goes by default.

P.S.—Since writing the above, the author has been favoured with a communication from Mr Joseph Arch, the well-known friend and successful champion of the agricultural labourer, from which the following sentiment has been extracted :—" Had all ministers of the Church of England denounced the evil (the Poor Law deterrent system) from the pulpit, we should probably have not heard so much about disestablishment. The Church has certainly, as a rule, especially in our rural districts, turned its back upon the poor, and the poor are now turning their back upon the Church."

ELBERFELD.

THIS thriving and populous city of the Rhenish province of Prussia has now become justly celebrated, not only in Germany, but also throughout Europe, for its exemplary State-enactments for the relief of the poor. Not very long since the attention of England was attracted to it by special notices in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and other journals more or less favorable to the Elberfeld system. The periodical designated, after giving a lucid and candid *resumé* of the principles and practices of Poor-law administration in this manufacturing district of Prussia—resembling thus those members of the legislature whose speeches and votes are directly at variance—by a somewhat surprising species of reasoning, or rather, perhaps, the lack of it altogether, arrived at the conclusion that, however efficient for its ends and objects the Elberfeld system might be, England should still be satisfied with the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834! Alarmed, therefore, as must have been the President of the Poor Law Board, enjoying his thousands per annum, and his well-paid staff of Assistant Commissioners, together with all the hosts of “Bumbledom” throughout the length and breadth of the land, at discovering with eye askance in the *Pall Mall* that, in a densely-peopled district of manufacturers and artisans, the poor, whether aged and weak, or able-bodied but unfortunate, are not left to pine in want and wretchedness, but adequately relieved, and that by a voluntary system of administration, without the outlay of a penny to the ratepayers,—alarmed, as they necessarily were, at learning thus much, the critic, nevertheless, banished their rising fears and allowed them all to depart “quite comfortable” from their respective clubs to their various mansions and homes by consolingly appending to his *critique* that all in merry Old England would still remain *in statu quo*, the *subintelligitur* being, of course—“let some malcontents say what they may about the human hecatombs daily offered to Mammon

through the inhumanities of the New Poor Law, and 'the tender mercies of the union,' deemed as they are by the deserving poor, more to be dreaded than death by starvation."

The writer of the following observations, respectfully and prayerfully offered to a discerning public, who for many years in the prosecution of his professional duties has been led to take a lively interest in matters concerning the relief of the poor, is at present visiting Elberfeld for the express purpose of witnessing what is done in support of the necessitous. He cherishes the hope that some account, however brief and imperfect, of these charitable doings may prove of service to his fellow-countrymen, both rich and poor—the former through being better acquainted with "the more excellent way," the latter through being benefited, materially, by that increased knowledge of their more fortunate compatriots.

As the numbers of the poor in the large manufacturing towns of England are not unfrequently instanced and urged in vindication of "abandoning them to starvation," it may be better, before giving an abstract of the regulations for the relief of the poor in Elberfeld, to say a little concerning its extent and means.

It is not more than two centuries ago that the population of Elberfeld was scarcely a thousand. At present the district connected with it is one of the most populous in Germany. Boedeker states that Elberfeld and Barmen—the two towns are contiguous—contain more than 120,000 inhabitants. The latter comprising *Wicklinghausen*, *Gemark*, *Rittershausen*, &c., commencing with the Wupperbrücke, the bridge over the Wupper, whence the long vale takes its name—Wupperthal, is in a manner contiguous with Elberfeld, so that from the west side of the latter to the east side of Barmen, a distance of some six or seven miles, you pass through an ever recurring series of factories, with their tall chimneys on the right and on the left interspersed in all directions with the dwellings of the toiling thousands, exhibiting, for the most part, the *spem gregis* in no niggard proportions, all apparently well fed and well clothed, though plainly housed—all, as it were, practically setting at defiance the cruel, unchristian, nay, monstrous maxims of Malthus, should they chance to have heard of a philosophy proved a thousand times over, by experience, to be no less impolitic than preposterous.

Amid these teeming thousands, then, it is, who are employed for the most part in the Woollen and Silk Factories and the Dyeing Establishments, in which they have attained great celebrity

for the production of what is called the Turkish-red, that a system of poor-relief has been devised which merits and obtains the admiration of the world. But before particularising, let us devote a brief space to the earlier history of this interesting town, for it will be found that its inhabitants do not profess to have made any marvellous discoveries by the study of Political Economy or any other "philosophy falsely so called." Nay, so far from this being the case, they rather boast of "standing by the good old paths"—*stare super antiquas vias*—and walking in the wisdom of their forefathers. Hence the Elberfelders, one and all, tell you: we have always had this system. Accordingly, you do not walk far from the Railway Station before discovering a neat, comfortable-looking, spacious building, on the antique portal of which are inscribed the words—"Poorhouse of the Evangelical Reformed Church; erected in the year 1676; renewed in the years 1765 and 1820."

This is but one of many such refuges for the widow, the aged, and orphan children dispersed throughout the place. These seventeenth century monuments of a God-fearing people have *not* here been replaced by the nineteenth century Bastilles as in England, to her sorrow. Not only, too, are these pious buildings retained, but the principles, also, which prevailed at the time of their erection are still, happily, in vigour. They hold and teach that the Will of God is no less unchangeable than His Nature and Being; that that Will is unmistakeably made known to man in both revelations—the earlier and the later—and that the Divine Founder of Christianity caused it specially to be promulgated that amongst His followers, "the strong are to support the weak,"

The present State Administration for the Relief of the Poor was established in 1856. Prior to this the poor were relieved from the funds of the Churches and Chapels to which they respectively belonged, or of which they were members. Very liberal things were devised by these congregations for the support of their poor brethren when incapacitated for labour by sickness or the infirmities of age. Alms were collected for the purpose, and deacons appointed for the administration. It will occur to those who have read the life of Dr. Chalmers that a similar system was adopted by the congregation at St. John's, at Glasgow, at the time the celebrated preacher was the Minister. To this day, in Elberfeld, the Churches and Chapels liberally support their sick and aged poor by means of a diaconal house-to-house visitation. They have also numerous Almshouses, Orphan Asylums, and other benevolent institutions in abundance. No doubt it was discovered that some were neglected

in these daily ministrations. Christian congregations do not always cordially befriend Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, and yet, in many large towns, some of these are found in considerable numbers. Hence, possibly, the necessity for State Relief to which all "confessions" might find free access, and be assisted, if not as fellow-saints, yet, at least, as fellow-citizens. At all events, such a State Institute arose in the year specified, of which the *Oberbürgermeister* is the President. This controlling "Board" consists also of four State-Deputies and four principal *Bürger*s, who are chosen at a meeting of the State-deputies, the duration of whose office being three years. They are, however, again eligible. On these gentlemen devolves the duty of supporting all the necessitous who make the prescribed application for relief through the Commune. This duty is performed in reference (1) to the outdoor poor, through the agency of an appointed number of District Overseers and Armenpfleger (House-to-house Visitors)—the name primarily designates persons who *care for the poor*—and (2) to the in-door poor, through the agency of a special direction—Governors, Masters, and Officers appointed to the care and control of the same. In the year 1867, to a population of 64,732 there were appointed 18 District Overseers and 252 Armenpfleger, a third part of whom retire at the end of each year, but are again eligible.

Now, here the intelligent reader will observe are "conspicuous by their absence" both the Guardian and the Relieving Officer, the Squire and the Bailiff, or, since we would rather elevate than depress, the Knight and the Squire—the Don Quixote and the Sancho Panza of England's chivalrous charities. The writer designates them thus as picturing, to some extent, at least, their respective parts and offices. The Guardian—Judas-like in one point (let him not be offended; we say it only in illustration)—holds the bag and bears what is put therein; and being one of the principal ratepayers in the Parish or Union, the more he can keep in the bag the better for himself, he thinks, since it must be replenished by his own contributions. Sancho, who adores his master, since his bread depends upon him, knows well how to please him. He is to receive the visits of the destitute poor, provided, *i.e.*, they be *absolutely destitute*—for thus the humane legislators have willed it—but then, if he be "awake," as he must be, indeed, he will either stop both his ears or storm the poor clamourer into silence. He is expected, in some cases, to go his rounds—mounted, too, as his respectable prototype—for the scene of his exploits in doing battle with the poor is sometimes as wild

and extended as that around Manzanares—but, then, it is not to search out misery, but to shut both his eyes as soon as ever he gets scent of it, which infallibly assails his olfactory nerves as deodorizing processes are but as yet partially introduced in some districts. The mule, however, which he crosses, instinctively escapes from such a quarter with a speed exceeding that of his master's Rosinante. But we cannot complete the sketch, and are in a manner indignant with ourselves that we should have turned aside, but for a moment, to anything like irony in a matter of life and death to thousands. Still, we are convinced that the legislation of 1834, as to the providing any proper, adequate, *bona fide* relief of the poor, is no less unreal and absurd than the Battle of the Windmills; and it should not be forgotten that no mean authority once proposed the question still unanswered—

“*quamquam ridentem
dicere verum quid vetat ?*”

The distinguishing feature in the system of State relief, as adopted at Elberfeld, is its comprehensive and admirable application of the regulations concerning *out-door* assistance. Here, where this matter for many long years has been deeply studied and fully discussed, the heads of the people have arrived at conclusions diametrically opposed to those of the English legislature in 1834. Instead of discouraging out-door relief, they adopt it in preference to the in-door system. Experience teaches them that by affording timely and adequate assistance to a distressed family they prevent its becoming a permanently pauperised one. The help is often needed only for a month or two, and in many cases never applied for a second time. The grateful head of the family, thus generously relieved, will do his utmost in future to refrain from having recourse to the parish funds. Before, however, such assistance is granted at the recommendation of the Armenpfleger, at the fortnightly meetings of the Board of Directors, that recommendation, to be successful, must be accompanied by a written statement concerning the aggregate means of the impoverished family, in which it must be shewn that their united earnings, supposing the family to consist of father, mother, and five children, from fifteen years of age and under, do not amount to the sum of four thalers—twelve shillings—weekly, and that no relatives of the needy family are *legally* responsible for its support. The writer can boldly assert, without fear of contradiction, after an attentive perusal of the publications containing the principles and proceedings of the Poor-

law Board in Elberfeld, and after personal inquiry among the inhabitants, that instead of shrinking from this mode of subsidising the inadequate wages of poor manufacturers and artisans, as tending to encourage improvidence or to endanger self-reliance, the State-appointed visitors, on the contrary, willingly lend their ears to such applications for help, and the administrators of relief cheerfully grant what is wanting for the *adequate* support of the family. As to the kind of relief granted, this, "as a rule," in the words of the State regulations, "is money." If any abuse of this, on the part of the father or mother, is ascertained, then the relief is given in what is here deemed the necessities of life—*victuals*, clothing, and *bedding*. But we may fairly infer, from the existence of "the rule," that the abuse of a money-grant is altogether exceptional; in fact, there seems to exist a conscientious sense of duty both in the giver and receiver of the bounty. By the latter it is perceived that the State honestly *desires* to minister to his necessities. He is dealt with candidly and conscientiously. He will not abuse this charity. His wife and children shall be the better supported by means of the State grant, and he himself will do his utmost to spare the parish the outlay, in order to increase its readiness, if possible, to assist others temporarily distressed, as he was. Thus a truly charitable State "deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall it stand."

But let it not be thought that Elberfelders shrink from the duty of punishing drunken, dissolute, disorderly persons. They respect the Apostolic adage, "If any man *will not* work, neither shall he eat"—eat, that is, the bread of charity; but such an one must eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of affliction, and be kept in durance vile until he come to a better mind. Few, indeed, are such instances, but they now and then occur. And who is so adroit at detecting them, or so firm in punishing them when detected, as the Elberfeld Armenpfleger? Strong in the consciousness of his honestly listening to every cry of distress—nay, of his going in search of the down-fallen and destitute, when he finds that his own benevolent exertions and the State's charity are alike abused, he is not slow to bring down upon the head of the offender the justly merited punishment. Here, then, we find a distinction made between the deserving and the disorderly. What can be the reason that England makes no such distinction in her treatment of the poor, but "tars all with the same brush," good and bad alike? Doubtless, Political Economy ranks amongst the *occult sciences*! But to master the law which "Guardians" have

to administer, both in the spirit and in the letter of it, supposes an initiation into the "arcana" of a philosophy which none but the "perfect" can ever hope to attain.

But let us continue our comparison and contrast. Elberfeld utilises the powers of its applicants for relief—whether male or female, able-bodied or aged. And, being well aware of the fact, and candidly admitting it, that the honest and industrious are often thrown out of employment through no fault of their own, it takes upon itself the responsibility of finding work for such as are unable to procure it for themselves. All that it requires of the poor man asking employment through its intervention is, that when work *sued to his powers* is pointed out to him, he do not reject the proffered boon through caprice or any other insufficient reason. But he is submitted to no such degrading "tests" as stone-breaking, or oakum-picking, punitive exactions, specially the latter, reserved as it usually is for malefactors whose fingers often become most painfully sore in fulfilling their daily task, as the writer can attest from his having been chaplain for a time at a House of Correction.

From the fact that the parish undertakes to find work for those who are unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain it for themselves, it may easily be seen that the one grand object of the distributors of relief is the upholding and maintaining in their respective positions the temporarily distressed poor. Now, a policy resembling this, it will be remembered, was adopted in England at the time of the Cotton-famine, as it was called, in Lancashire. Then it was singularly enough discovered that the New Poor Law is not, as every one had previously concluded, like the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not. The applicant for parochial relief need not be absolutely destitute. He was not required to part with the bed on which he lay, and every article of furniture which might be turned into a shilling, to get bread for his famishing children, before his case could be for a moment entertained by the Board of Guardians. The Poor Law authorities at Whitehall, all on a sudden, to the surprise of many both in and out of Parliament, caused it to be known that the law was not to be interpreted in the plain and literal meaning of its terms, and that absolute destitution was not the pre-requisite—the *sine quâ non*—for a claim to legal relief. Accordingly, work was provided, and relief in money given from the poors' rate to the famishing thousands. But how strange! Prior to experience we might have supposed the very reverse would have been the case.

It was well known throughout England that the Poor-law had previously been interpreted to mean that the distressed artisan was compelled to part even with his tools—the very means of his subsistence—before his application for parochial assistance could be entertained. When thousands were thrown out of employment, no matter from what cause, it might have been urged that to spare the ratepayer the most rigid economy would be maintained, and that the smallest modicum of relief would be afforded. Besides, where would be the justice, the even-handed justice, in which Englishmen are apt to pride themselves, of punishing the weak and the scattered few for their poverty, but relieving the many in like circumstances because strong in their numbers? As to ourselves, we confess that we blush at the reflection that a nation such as England once was should have stooped to a policy so tortuous, so inconsistent, so mean. The case of the Lancashire weavers ought to have opened our eyes to the cruelty, nay, inhumanity, of the New Poor Law Amendment Act. For what is the plain, unvarnished state of the case? A working man is thrown out of employment, by no fault of his own, but by the state of the weather, or some other contingency. Both agriculturists and artisans occasionally suffer the loss of work from such a cause. He applies to the Union for assistance. Either “the Labour Test” or “the House Test,” or, perhaps, both are applied. As to the one, capable or incapable, he must break stones. As to the other, he must be plucked up root and branch from his humble dwelling and enter “the Bastille”—himself to be separated from his wife—the mother herself from her children, even those of tender age. Here let us record an example in proof: for whilst “Theories are the fancies of men, facts are the offspring of the gods.”

In the winter of 1860-61, there was found at West Wrating—a parish about twelve miles from Cambridge—a hard-working agricultural labourer, named Stinton, who for some time past had supported a wife and ten children by his own earnings and those of his two boys under fifteen. These youths earned barely sufficient to keep themselves. Hence, on nine shillings per week, the usual pay of labourers in that district, this man had to maintain himself, his wife, a notable and in all respects an excellent Christian mother, and eight helpless children. No marvel that the predecessor of the writer in the spiritual charge of the parish discovered on one occasion that the family were feeding on food unfit for human consumption. Many cried “Shame!” but the man’s *wages remained the same*. In the summer, about two months be-

fore harvest, Stinton and two other labourers in the parish applied to their master, who was a Guardian, for the increase of a shilling in their weekly wages. This was refused, and Stinton in particular was threatened with some weeks of it in the House, for his temerity, when the winter came. Well, the winter did come, and a very severe one it was, a great fall of snow taking place on Christmas Eve. The Guardian remembers his threat. *Stinton is the first discharged.* He must "have some weeks of it in the House"—a phrase, be it remarked, as significant as "some weeks of it at the treadmill." The poor mother of the family in relating the fact of her husband being thus thrown out of work, and the necessity of taking refuge immediately in the Union, said to the wife of the writer, when visiting the district, "Ma'am, I should not care for it myself, but when they take away these little ones from me," pointing to one about two years and a half old, "they seem to be taken 'em off to slaughter 'em." The treatment of this family was referred to in the pulpit the next day—Sunday—and some of the facts were published in the Cambridge journals. But we have not yet done with Stinton's history. When the snow thawed he was again wanted, for the good Guardian did not consider the man so bad a bargain at eighteen-pence a day, when he had a good stroke of work to be done. But now others also thought for him and his much-wronged family, and recommended their transplanting themselves in Kent, where was to be found something more like a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. To effect the transition of a family from Cambridgeshire to "the Garden of England," distant a hundred miles and more, would have been impossible for a man necessarily without a penny in his pocket, but friends came to his assistance. The father and his two sons went out first from their home and from their kindred to the land of promise, intending to send for their mother and bairns, if they were not disappointed. Stinton, on arriving at Milton, by Sittingbourne, was employed immediately at 15s per week. His boys obtained remunerating labour in the brick-fields. Those of the family that were left behind in the old country were speedily sent for, mother and all; and here they remained for years, never on any occasion, so far as we can learn, applying to the parish for relief.

In such a state of things, no friend of the oppressed poor can fail to admire the benevolent undertaking of the Rev. Canon Girdlestone, by whose charitable exertions a Society has been formed for assisting agricultural labourers and their families to

remove from districts where wages are disgracefully low to others where they are considerably higher. Much good has been thus effected. Not only have the migratory families been materially benefited, but those also from the midst of whom they have gone out have soon found their employers disposed to advance their wages, fearing lest the exodus, through their Pharaoh-like exactions, and withholding of more than is meet, should become general. People at Elberfeld, as well as other Germans, and indeed people of other nations throughout the Continent of Europe, marvel that *Emigration* should not be more promoted by the English Government than it is, or has been hitherto. But they seem to be unacquainted with the fact that very many of our legislators are directly interested in maintaining as far as possible a large proportion of the working classes at starving-point. Were the farmers really to give remunerative wages to their labourers, could they pay such rents as they now do to their landlords—often members of one or other of the two branches of the Legislature? If the lords of iron and of cotton, of wood and of stone, were compelled through a lack of hands to do their duty to the myriads of men, women, and children in their employ, would they so speedily become millionaires? Doubtless, such colossal fortunes have been made in England by the lords of the soil, and the large manufacturers, through the cheapness of labour. But were *Emigration* adequately promoted, so as sensibly to reduce the supply in the labour market, the working man would then be safe in standing up for his right—a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and not be compelled by hunger, as now, alas! too often, to listen to the selfish suggestion of the farmer, as the spokesman of the landlord or the capitalist, "half a loaf is better than none."

There will be found appended to these remarks a list of deaths from starvation, attested by Coroners' Inquests, occurring between November 26th, 1862, and March 27th, 1865; and recorded in the public journals. Those cases that were in any measure attributable to "drink" have not been inserted. Every unprejudiced reader will be forced to the conclusion that this hecatomb of human sacrifices has been offered to Mammon through the operation of the New Poor Law Amendment Act—that curious piece of legislation which, its interested defenders maintain, "works well." Now, from the prescribed regulations for the guidance of the 250 duly appointed house-to-house visitors of the poor at Elberfeld, we learn that "the Armenpfleger must, immediately upon an application for relief being made, inquire carefully into the circumstances of

the applicant. Should he be convinced that the case is such as to entitle the sufferer to legal relief, and find, moreover, that the need is so urgent that help must be afforded without delay, then it is his duty to cause the necessary assistance to be given *instantly*, and without either further inquiry for the present, or reference to any other authority. In all other cases the Armenpfleger must be present at the next District Meeting, and present to it the claims of the impoverished person or persons. The same course also must be adopted by him in reference to the *continuance* of assistance granted by him in the urgent cases before adverted to." But let us see now who and what those persons are that are entitled to legal relief. We transcribe, then, the following *general principles* of the Poor Law Administration at Elberfeld, which are printed and distributed amongst these 250 Visitors and Almoners of the Poor :—

I. "The necessitous poor man unable to work will be supported by State assistance so long as no other persons are bound and able to support him, or private benevolence fails him, whether he or any other person in his behalf makes application for such assistance."

II. "The necessitous poor man able to work, if he or another in his behalf applies for assistance, and if he shews that he has honestly endeavoured to obtain work, but without success, can, provided no other person (or persons) is bound and able to support him, or private benevolence administers to his necessity, be supported until he obtains a sufficient income; he is bound to accept the work pointed out to him, proportioned to his powers."

Here, then, is established such a provision for the support of the famishing as to make "deaths from starvation" now so familiar to England—and, through *The Times* and other journals, so famous throughout the world—utterly unknown in Elberfeld. The "*res angusta domi*" may be found here at times as in all large towns, but no one is suffered to perish through the want of the necessities of life. Thus the Elberfelders, when enjoying their sausages and their *sauerkraut*, and washing all down with copious draughts of their good, wholesome beer, are not haunted with the dread that many others around them may be dying of hunger. Methinks that at our Lord Mayor's feasts—I will not attempt to describe them, my pen would fail—occasionally, when conscience does her perfect work, as in the case of the carousing Belteshazzar, some of the sated guests must be able to decipher at least the word "Tekel," as traced out by the fingers of a man's hand visibly protruding from

the wall of the banquetting-hall. Yes, "wanting," indeed, in their duty to how many thousands of their common flesh and blood, as weighed in the balances of One that is blind to the persons of men, must those feasting legislators and their supporters be, whose conscience tells them that through their own inhuman enactments many around them, morally not a whit inferior to themselves, are at that moment perishing for lack of bread. We pity those of the banqueters that can neither descry the mysterious hand nor discern the ill-boding letters. No Daniel is needed here, provided they be not incapacitated by excess. The "*mens sana in corpore sano*," and a conscience awake is all that is wanted.

But, notwithstanding its liberal institutions and enactments for the support of the honest poor, Elberfeld has also its "Obdach" or Shelter, somewhat resembling our Refuge. Not a few persons are found in most large communities who will spend their last penny before soliciting parochial assistance. Some of these are found now and then absolutely homeless. For such unfortunates, then, has the town of Elberfeld provided a "roof" to shelter their otherwise defenceless heads. None who seek admission are rejected. The simple qualification is the need of protection through the night. But the persons in charge of this Refuge for the Destitute are expected by its supporters to have sympathy with the sufferers, and to shew them as far as possible the means of recovering from such a state of destitution. They are told where work may be obtained, or more permanent assistance be procured. We may state it, indeed, as an incontrovertible fact, that at all the institutions for the benefit of the unfortunate in this charitable town, one object never lost sight of is "the lifting up of those that are cast down"—the recovery of such as have been "knocked over," as it were, in the battle of life, so that even those who have lost their position by their own improvidence or misconduct may, if possible, regain it. But their grand object is, as we have before hinted, to *maintain the poor family in their position* when verging on decadence, with the hope, seldom disappointed, that better times for these unfortunate persons will surely come. "They devise liberal things, and by liberal things they stand."

The writer of the Report concerning the "Obdach" congratulates his fellow-townsmen on the fact that they can now retire to their rest with the assurance that no destitute fellow-creature in the town remains exposed to the inclemencies of the night season, and that, therefore, their own sleep may be sweet. Has not the reader in this naïve expression of sentiment a key to all the chari-

table movements in Elberfeld? These people, who have a heart to feel for another, cannot enjoy life so long as a Lazarus is lying at their gate uncompassionated and unrelieved.

What a disgraceful revelation was made in the public press, some few years ago, respecting the outcasts of London! In the avenue between St. James's and Buckingham Palaces, on and around the wooden benches, which in the day time are used as seats, were found in one night more than a hundred miserable beings, defending themselves as best they could against the cold damp of the night and the dawn's nipping frost, by drawing closer to their weary limbs their poor, filthy, tattered garments, in some cases scarce sufficient to cover their nakedness. Not a murmur was heard; but the silence of these poor creatures in this abject distress was an appeal to Heaven more eloquent than words. Ah! was it not recorded there? And is not the answer, though thus far delayed, yet winging its way to earth, and will it not eventually be demonstrated to the wondering world—that such sufferings, the unmistakable result of unrighteous laws, must not for ever remain unavenged?

The poor in England were once cared for. "Refuges for the Destitute," now so numerous and yet inadequate, as also "deaths from starvation," with which we are now grown so familiar, were in those better and wiser times never heard of. The new Poor Law, framed not to relieve the destitute, but by its refined horrors to deter them from seeking relief, produces in all this its natural results. By it England "sowed to the wind," and therefore it now "reaps the whirlwind." But how desperate its folly in bringing in such a piece of legislation, and how did it thereby run upon the thick bosses of the shield of the Almighty Avenger of the oppressed poor! "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and to the writers that write grievousness: To turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!" (Ish. x., 1-2). We do not transcribe the threatened visitation that follows, but who shall say that since England has fallen into the sin here described she shall, notwithstanding, escape the punishment here denounced? Some of her spiritual comforters tell her so, it is true; but it is no new thing for the so-called religious world to be buoyed up in its "grievousness" by the flattering utterances of false prophets.

The Bible, it is well known, is full of denunciations against the oppressors of the poor. But here that class of oppressors

who legislate and "prescribe" cruel enactments is singled out and threatened with retributive justice. These "imagine mischief" against the poor "by a law." Instead of "shewing mercy to the poor"—instead of "doing justly and loving mercy," as would become those whose wealth oftentimes absolutely burdensome to its possessors creates a gulf of almost illimitable extent between themselves and those who support themselves by toil, their device is only how "to cast down" still more "the poor and needy," as if they begrudged the weak and the helpless the very air they breathe, and any place, however humble in the community, if they have none to help them, and are therefore dependent on public assistance. Yes, the poor as such is hated even of his own neighbour, as Holy Scripture testifies. These law-makers, and law-givers forsooth, are, notwithstanding frequenters of the sanctuary. Here they have often united their voices with those of the hardy sons of toil, by the sweat of whose brow they themselves are supported in luxury and the *dolce far niente*, in calling upon Him, of whom it is said "there be higher than they," "to judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress"—marginal ready, "terrify." Nay, these pious legislators may, some of them at least, be found in our churches at Lent, solemnly pronouncing the loud "Amen," responsive to the "minister" when he reads, "Cursed is he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, the fatherless, and widow."

The circumstance thus glanced at would be more curious to contemplate were it not for the well known fact that people go to Church to "curse *others*," themselves to bless, and to "thank God that they are not as other men." As to the oppressor himself, like a Church-going offender of old, though he may hear much that fits him to the very letter, yet, as in the parallel case alluded to, he still needs the free-tongued Nathan with the words—"Thou art the man!"

That these remarks may reach those to whom they truly and properly apply, let the upholder of the New Poor Law remember that its provisions are of the most "*deterrent*" character. It was *The Times*, if we mistake not, that first employed this word in reference to the cruel law, and at the same time fully demonstrated its truth and applicability.—I. The Union-House, or Bastille—no misnomer—is itself unmistakeably deterrent; and, beyond all doubt, was, from the first, intended so to be. Hence, the scarecrow of its originators, who must be judged out of their own mouths, designated by themselves "The House Test." Its inmates

are to be utterly destitute. Despair, therefore, as to the coming out again is the *deterrent* notion aimed at here. II. The inmates are under lock and key. Who would not be *deterred* by the certainty of losing his liberty? III. The inmates must doff their own clothes, and don a uniform which has all the appearance of a prison-dress. This, too, is often of a material poor and flimsy, and utterly insufficient to protect the rheumatic limbs of the aged from the wintry blasts. The dread, then, of being compelled to exchange a comfortable covering, however soiled, for a chilly one altogether inadequate to ward off the cold, is not a little deterrent. IV. Not less so, however, is the meagre dietary, with its "skilly" and its scrupulously prescribed weights and measures, lest perchance the poor inmate should have his appetite appeased, and lie down at night in his dreary barracks with the prospect of not being kept awake by hunger. To have his "senses steeped in forgetfulness" is too great a luxury for a "pauper." "The poor shall eat and be satisfied" is not the maxim of Unions. V. Another powerful *deterrent* is revolting companionship. The Relieving Officers of Unions appear to possess a peculiar faculty for hunting up half-witted persons, epileptics, and other unfortunates, whose company is not the most attractive. We have known some Bastilles within whose dreary walls the unhappy inmates could not avoid coming into close contact with some rare "objects" of this description, which seemed to be exhibited here and there in the court-yards, with their prison-like surroundings, as so many "*scare-crows*." Terrifying, indeed, as those were to some of the inmates, the writer has been creditably informed that objects still more deterrent to others are to be found in some of these sinks of iniquity; and that not only language the most obscene and profane is continually heard within these Pandemoniums, but that acts the most offensive, and that crimes the most diabolical—even unnatural ones—are perpetrated within its limits! VI. As a further *deterrent*, how often may it be seen that Masters and Porters and Nurses have all been selected and appointed for their peculiar qualification of repulsive manners and bearing, just as that Relieving Officer for the outdoor poor is considered the best qualified who can brow-beat the most. We have known some who have experienced "the tender mercies of the Union Workhouse," as the Earl of Shaftesbury has designated them, to declare that they were ready to suffer any extremity rather than incur a repetition of the insults and indignities to which paupers are exposed in this direction. VII. It would be difficult to characterise, as it

deserves, the cruelty of separating aged married couples, some of whom have even passed their "golden weddings." But when once the poor old creatures who have so long "climbed the hill together" have been compelled by the infirmities of age to take refuge in these "*durissima regna*," the Rhadamanthus, who presides there, speedily "puts asunder those whom God has joined together" and dismisses them to opposite parts of those cheerless abodes. Few can doubt that so *horrifying* is such a separation in such a place, that many such aged couples deliberately prefer pining together, in daily contemplation of one another's wasted forms, encouraged by "the hope of a better resurrection," to prolonging their lives under circumstances so unendurable to flesh and blood. VIII. Children of tender age are separated from their mothers. Parents will endure much themselves, but what is beyond endurance to them is, to know that their children are miserable and refusing to be comforted, because separated from their natural protectors. What an inhuman deity is mammon! And how are his devotees in these last times "without natural affection"!

We do not add to this category of terrors simply because other matters call for notice, and by no means because the list is exhausted. But referring back to some of them, we remark that at Elberfeld no one dreams of separating an aged pair, or, indeed, man and wife at any age, or under any circumstances. These are invariably relieved in their own abodes. Nor are children separated from their parents. We have visited the State Poor-house; not a child, boy or girl, was to be seen. They and their parents are adequately assisted in their homes, and the natural protectress and instructress of her little ones is allowed and encouraged to do the best for them, with the help afforded by the State. As to orphans, these are well provided for in a separate establishment—the *Waisenhaus*.

If it is considered that in England the necessitous poor are only *entitled* by the New Poor Law Amendment Act to the relief of the House—the Union—and to that only when absolutely destitute, and if it is considered further how curiously forbidding and repulsive Union regulations are, and contrast with these the humane character of the statutory provisions at Elberfeld, no surprise need be felt that in the flourishing Prussian town the weak ones are supported and cared for, so that there is no complaining in its streets, whilst in England, on the contrary, as is known to all the world, such unfortunate persons in large numbers drop

into a premature grave from "exhaustion" produced by insufficient food—a result often "accelerated" by exposure to the cold through being unhoused and inadequately clothed; all these direst privations being endured by the sufferers in deliberate preference to the receiving of State aid, rendered so abhorrent to flesh and blood by the conditions under which the Government in its wisdom has thought fit to afford assistance. Feeling themselves insulted, and their misery made a mockery of, they lie down and perish of cold and hunger.

Throughout the several districts into which Elberfeld is divided, the prominent circumstance in the administration of relief is its accessibility to all. Many of the 250 Armenpfleger live side by side oftentimes, and always in the very midst of the most necessitous. Want, as soon as it exists, is discovered by them. As they know that it is the *bond fide* wish of the State to become acquainted with all the real distress that arises in its midst, these voluntary Relieving Officers make it their business to inquire into the circumstances of those who are supposed to suffer. "The cause that they know not they search out," and investigate, for the very purpose of alleviating distress, should it be ascertained to exist. How unlike in spirit and in working is our own costly system. The requisite relief, only doubtfully, if at all, prescribed by the law, can only be obtained by repeated applications to its administrators, and not always then, though much labour and time may have been expended by the relatives of a poor sick person in making these applications. Let an instance supply the illustration, which the reader may desire.

In the Spring of 1861, the writer held the temporary charge of the Parish of Shotley, in Suffolk. Here two deaths occurred, which attracted public attention, by being particularised in the Ipswich journals. One was that of a used-up labouring man, between three and fourscore years of age, who for some time past had been endeavouring to keep body and soul together on the parish allowance of 2s 6d per week, out of which he paid 1s weekly for his lodging. One morning, when outside the miserable cottage, he fell down from exhaustion, was taken up and carried to his bed, on which a day or two afterwards he breathed his last. The other victim of mammon excited still more sympathy, and at the same time aroused public indignation. This was a fine young man, about twenty-four years of age, who nobly devoted his hard earnings, 14s per week, to the support of his widowed mother, in a weak state of health, and his sister, who kept house for them.

The bread-winner for the three was suddenly attacked with fever. The doctor was sent for, and appeared at the bedside of the prostrated man. Alarm was felt, but not unmingled with hope. At a subsequent visit, the medical attendant, fearing that his patient might sink from exhaustion, ordered mutton-broth to be given him. But not a shilling was found in the house wherewith to procure it. The doctor, therefore, kindly furnished the poor mother and sister with a paper attesting the urgent necessity of the prescribed nourishment, and recommending it to be taken instantly to one of the Guardians of the parish, a farmer living at no great distance from the distressed cottage. This was done immediately by the sister, but the good Guardian of the parish purse could not see his way clearly to such unusual liberality as the giving of a shilling for mutton-broth, and referred the poor young woman to another Guardian who resided at the other end of the parish. Here, alas, she was no more successful than before; and after trying two other parties, she returned at length to her afflicted home without the means of procuring the bit of mutton for the broth. The doctor, who lived some miles away, drove up to the cottage the next day with the hope of finding his patient somewhat the better for his culinary prescription. But the poor young man is now fast sinking from exhaustion; yet such is the kindness, such the persevering hope of his medical attendant that he gives the requisite money from his own pocket for the broth to be made instantly. This is done, but a few drops of it are no sooner poured into the lips of the exhausted man than he expires. The day before it might have saved his valuable life; but now it is too late. These cases, as we have stated, were recorded in the newspapers; and a Poor Law Commissioner was sent down to the Union from Whitehall to hold an enquiry, after the manner of these well-paid gentlemen, *with closed doors*. The writer is not aware that the public ever became further acquainted with these painful facts, or that the result of the inquiry was made known. He only knows that though he was the clergyman in charge of the parish at the time in the absence of the Incumbent, and visited, as was his duty, these victims of inhumanity when they were dying, he was *not* invited to be present at the inquiry. It may interest some persons for him to add that, though, for many long years he has attentively observed the treatment of paupers, not unfrequently sending communications to the journals, and occasionally even to some of the authorities at Whitehall, yet he has never on any one occasion been invited to be present at Poor Law inquiries. Does

the writing to the journals disqualify for such an honour? Are the interests of humanity best consulted for by being deliberated upon *sub rosa*?

Such cases as these just recorded could not have occurred at Elberfeld. In Prussia, society is neither so ungrateful nor so cruel to aged labourers as to allow them to perish of slow starvation. And very especially is it not so Bæotic as to allow a young man supporting his widowed mother and sister by the labour of his hands to be cut off through the want of a little timely nourishment. Were "John Bull" and the "Deutsche Michael" to be judged in this matter by a jury of other nations, for the premium of pre-eminence in prudential economy, few can doubt which of the two would prove the successful Ulysses.

One of the legionary evils of neglect of the poor is street-begging. The writer has visited many large towns in various parts of Europe, and in some of these, say, for instance, in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, found this nuisance nothing less than vexatious, specially in the neighbourhood of the churches. When at Seville, a few years since, he had occasion to write to an English journal, when he could not refrain from deprecating the clamorous character of street-begging in that otherwise most interesting city of Andalusia. But here at Elberfeld, where he has now sojourned for some weeks, he has not so much as sighted a single beggar, or, rather not one has sighted him; in fact, this humiliating species of civilised man appears to him to have become totally extinct throughout the whole extent of the Wupperthal. However this may be, could he have remained so long in any equally populous town of Great Britain, without being importuned by petitioners for alms? It is possible, indeed, for the police, it is well known, have rigid instructions to prevent street-begging; but it may be doubted whether the permissive system at Seville even; be not preferable to the repressive one in England. The sore in the body politic—as that of a bared and exposed leg of a man sitting by the way-side begging, which the writer remembers to have seen exhibited to the fashionable promenaders along the banks of the Guadalquivir, and close by the splendid domain of the Duke of Montpensier at Seville—it may be safer to allow to be seen, however revolting and repulsive, than to be forcibly concealed from our sight, and permitted in secret to fester. "*Verbum sat sapienti.*"

How much money is lavished in England in support of the system—such as it is—for administering relief. Contemplate, reader, for a moment, the amount of the salaries paid to the Pre-

sident of the Poor Law Board at Whitehall, and to that numerous staff of officers over whom he presides. Think, too, of the cost to the country of maintaining the Union-houses throughout the land, and the salaries again of the clerks to the several Unions, of the chaplains, of the masters and mistresses of the miserably taught children, and very especially of the so-called Relieving Officers. Now, here at Elberfeld, not a penny is received by the Armenpfleger, the visitors of the poor in their own abodes, for their time and trouble. Merchants and tradesmen, as well as the gentry and retired commercial men, deem it an honour and a privilege to be elected to this office. Though "time" to many of them "is money," as elsewhere, no plea is urged of their being too much occupied in business to bestow so much attention on the poor, and to devote so many hours to the constantly recurring meetings of the administrators of relief. They are sufficiently rewarded by the consciousness of doing their duty towards those less favoured by Divine Providence in worldly things than themselves, and by the conviction that they are contributing to the permanency of existing institutions—those institutions through which many amongst them have amassed considerable fortunes, whilst others of them have been preserved in the peaceful and undisturbed enjoyment of their hereditary estates. Those of them who have *become* rich do not ignore the fact that many of those around them now suffering from some of "the thousand ills which one incessant struggle render life," contributed by the labour of their hands to their own prosperity. They will not treat them as their used-up implements and machines, fit only to be broken up and committed to the flames, but as fellow-immortals, exercised and preparing by adversity in this world for a happier existence in the next. Yes, they have hearts as well as heads, these Elberfeld philanthropists, and the enriched amongst them show they are worthy of their wealth, thus sympathising as they do with "the affliction of Joseph." But even this difference in them, as compared with many where a contrary spirit bears rule, will not account for all their disinterested and self-denying exertions on behalf of the unfortunate. There is found in them a deep-seated reverence for the wisdom that pervades a certain Old Book, which inspired the good works of their fathers before them. From this they have learnt that the power to become rich comes from above; that there is One Supreme Disposer of events who suffers many to become poor whilst He makes others rich, and that His will is that those whom He has thus favoured, should "show mercy to the poor." Hence

their paternal, nay, tender solicitude for those who "have toiled all the night" in their vigorous years, but "have taken nothing"—nothing, that is, adequate to meet the necessities of failing health and the infirmities of advanced age.

Apropos of these remarks is the following painful history:—It may be found in a sermon of the author contained in a volume of "The Pulpit," and headed "The Wrongs of the Poor." Some persons may remember, too, that at the time when this sermon was being circulated in a separate form, the *Saturday Review* directed the attention of its readers to this specimen of the preacher's annals of the poor, giving extracts from that portion of it which contained the melancholy memoir.

The sermon was preached in the old mother church of St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, about three months before that edifice was destroyed by fire. The occasion of it was the death of John Blake, a poor blind man, seventy-three years of age, and a regular attendant at the Church near which he lived, and to which he was constantly led. This ill-fated man had committed suicide by hanging himself. The preacher was at the time temporarily undertaking the duties of the parish for the late Reverend Timothy Gibson, at that time curate in sole charge, but subsequently rector. As *locum tenens* for the regular curate, this clergyman was led to inquire into the history and circumstances of the unhappy self-destroyer. He learnt that John Blake had been for many years employed as a light porter in the City of London; but that, in consequence of his sight failing him, he was compelled to give up his employment. His character, however, had been so excellent, that the five or six different merchants for whom he had worked at different periods resolved "to keep him from the Workhouse," by allowing him each one of them a shilling per week. This continued for some time; but after a few years, through altered circumstances of one kind and the other, these five or six shillings were reduced to two, with which this poor man had to find himself food, clothing, and lodging. However, such was his frugality that he had been known to live upon a halfpenny worth of bread a day, and therefore he yet held on and hoped on. But he had a relative, too poor to help him, whose concern at seeing him reduced to this starving condition was such that, though she knew his repugnance to the Bethnal Green Union was in a manner invincible, yet ventured, nevertheless, to throw out the hint that the time had come for him to take refuge from a world which seemed to regard him as living too long and now become a

useless burden to it, within the dreaded walls of the Bastille. This was too much for the poor sightless septuagenarian. And now, alas, he resolved at once both to rid the world of its hated burden and to spare the Union the exercise of its "tender mercies," by putting an end to his earthly existence, which he seemed compelled to think was already too protracted. This dread resolve was put into execution by hanging, or rather strangling himself with a noose made of the ends of old ropes, by his busy fingers undirected by his sightless eyeballs, but yet capable of fabricating an instrument fatally strong for the accomplishment of his dread purpose. We need not further particularise. The sermon is extant, as are also the *Saturday Review's* remarks upon it in the volume containing its collected papers for that year.

But let us see how John Blake would have been treated at Elberfeld, had Providence placed the bounds of his habitation in the valley of the Wupper, instead of ordaining his lot to fall within the limits of the richest city in the world. Here, as soon as his pension had been reduced within the limit of the liberal parochial allowance, the Armenpfleger would at once have made up the deficiency, and at the next meeting of the *verwaltung*, his privations would have been further considered, and in all probability the decision arrived at to offer him a comfortable home for the remainder of his days in the excellent Asylum for the Blind. We can say more concerning the charities of Elberfeld. John Blake was a regular attendant at the Parish Church in Bethnal Green, being oft times led thither three times on the Sunday. Now, the congregations in this Prussian city take care of their own poor. In this case the charity of the State would have been forestalled. The congregation would cheerfully have supported its unfortunate member suffering such privations, for they will not have the withering words addressed to them, "What do ye more than others?" The State may be, compared with other States, liberal; but they, a Christian Church, will be more so; nor will they think for a moment of allowing the State to perform the duty which they themselves owe to their own weak member. Yes, such is Elberfeld; but oh, England, England, how art thou fallen!

One word more concerning the blind suicide. The case was noticed in a morning journal. Some anonymous writer subsequently writing to the editor of the same remarked that had John Blake entered the Union, he would have found it all that he could have wished. Just at the same time it so happened that a poor

silk-weaver, eighty years of age, had been induced to enter this Bethnal Green Union, and, two or three days after, was found strangled in his bed. The distressed octogenarian had surmounted his dread of entering, but the stern realities of this legal provision for the aged poor were found, on trial, too trying for his powers of endurance.

An important matter in connection with Poor Law regulations is the levying of the Poor's Rate, and the designation of the classes or persons to be rated. Since the year 1834, all, even the poorest, have been liable as contributors to the rate. This clever stroke of policy is no doubt in keeping with the spirit that pervades the new enactments. Make the poor to contribute towards the support of the indigent, and they must be poor indeed who will be thought entitled to such support. We will presently give an instance of the working of this politic regulation. Here, in Prussia, a law has recently passed the Legislature for the exemption from the payment of the taxes (comprised in which is the Poor Rate), of two classes of the poor, which together comprehend a large number of persons. It is generally understood, indeed, that as the masses furnish a large proportion of persons hostile to the Government, that this has been done to render their opposition harmless, inasmuch as persons exempted from the payment of the taxes on account of poverty are thereby deprived of the elective franchise. But it seems to be supposed by the German Legislature that the fathers of necessitous families would prefer the loss of their electoral rights to their children lacking bread. In England, however, according to the law, all persons are to be rated, and, though in some parishes, this law so cruel and unjust to the very poor, is by some occult influence rendered null and void in the case of a few, yet, in others, it is executed to the letter. How oppressive it may be rendered to the poorest of agricultural labourers, let the following instance suffice to prove. The writer here reproduces what has before been published in "God's Plea for the Poor" (London: T. Hatchard, 1851). The entire paragraph may not be deemed inappropriate:—

"As a further proof of the oppressive tendencies of parochial regulations in the present day, we may instance the assessment of cottage property. We express this somewhat recent innovation in the terms of its abettors, and will charitably suppose that many persons in supporting it, intended only that the owners, not the occupiers, should pay the Poor's Rate upon the cottages. But what is the fact? Already the tenants, for the most part, are

compelled by their landlords to add the rate to the rent, and thus, that which was already greatly disproportioned to their weekly earnings, viz., 2s 6d or 3s a week for rent, is now rendered still more so by this fresh impost of the rate. Of course, where it is levied on the occupier, it is needless to inquire if it is refunded by the landlord. In the parish in which the accompanying sermon was preached, the writer met with a very distressing instance of the cruelty of exacting the Poor's Rate *from the poor*. A labouring man, who had a wife and four children, had been employed for some weeks by the parish in digging, at which he earned 8s, sometimes 9s, per week (1842). He was paid, however, in *provisions*, never receiving a farthing in money, the provisions, too, being no more than necessary for the support of the family. The collector of the rate, who was also the Relieving Officer, and knew well the circumstances of the poor man, had meanwhile called at his miserably destitute cottage for the rate, of course without obtaining it. It happened, however, that the man got at last what was termed free labour, for which he was to be paid in money. But no sooner was he thus employed, than the Collector repeated his visit at the cabin and demanded payment of the rate. It was impossible to meet the demand, for no money had been received. As yet, it was but the first week of money-paid labour. The Collector, however, being determined, if possible, not to go empty away on this occasion, threatened now to take a skeleton clock, which served as an alarm by which the poor fellow was aroused to his work every morning, and was the only article in the room equal in value to the amount of the rate. But this, the wife assured the deputy of mammon's worshippers, already belonged to the landlord, to whom, for some time past, as the Collector himself knew, they had been unable to pay the rent. Well, you may suppose that he was now at his wit's end. But not so; for he now proceeds to take out a *summons* against the poor fellow for non-payment of the rate. Emboldened, however, by the recollection of his excessive destitution, and anxious to earn a few shillings now that he has free labour, this oppressed man presumes upon neglecting the summons, tempted thereto, more especially by the consideration that to appear before a Bench of magistrates at a distance of seven miles from his abode, would involve the loss of a day's work. But, alas! his non-appearance is construed into contempt, and now a *warrant* is duly signed for his apprehension, and duly executed too, for he is taken from his work before a magistrate, and sentenced to one month's imprisonment in Hertford Gaol, where the

writer saw him undergoing the sentence, and suffering all the undefinable horror of the silent system. Behold, then, an instance of levying the Poor's Rate upon the destitute poor. This heart-harrowing case the writer at the time put before the public in a letter addressed to the Editor of *The Times*. The Relieving Officer himself came forth as the bold defender of the parish, in reply. And how did he do this? Why, by informing the world that he *himself, on a former occasion, put his hand into his own pocket to screen this very man from the consequence of being unable to pay the rate*. Yes, the well-seasoned official even had found himself vanquished. True, extortion should be made of sterner stuff; but one word, O ye Pharaohs, for your taskmasters and exactors. Men's hearts are not suddenly petrified. Even steel must have time to cool before it becomes inflexible. Now all this may be found fully stated and enlarged upon in *The Times*, and other newspapers, at the close of 1842."

The value which the people of Elberfeld put upon a man, as such, however poor he may be, is seen from the provision which is made for his decent interment. They seem to hold and teach "A man's a man for a' that." Such a funeral as is customary with the humbler classes is furnished gratuitously by the State to the pauper family when death has taken from it one of its members. The translation of the mortal remains from the house of mourning to the cemetery is, in general, attended with grave and imposing solemnities. The pauper's funeral is not to be deprived of them, as if to make the sting of death doubly acute to the humble survivors. All that the parish authorities require is that no *extra pomp* be added to that provided by the public charity. Should the vanity of any of the relatives of the deceased lead them to infringe upon this regulation, the conductor of the parish-provided hearse is instructed to take back the vehicle and the attendant bearers, and to leave those who would do more than was done gratuitously to do *all* at their own expense. But what of England and its pauper funerals? The writer, when chaplain to a Union, has often assisted in "committing the body of our dear brother," or "dear sister, to the ground," when none but pauper bearers were present, and not the shadow of any mourning could be seen. True, this was at a time when the cholera was sweeping away the ill-fed inmates; but at any time how chilling is the studied neglect which strikes you at beholding a pauper's funeral. Some years since, when undertaking the duties of the late Vicar of Edmonton, in his absence for some

weeks, the writer had occasion to call the attention of the congregation, in one of his Sunday morning discourses, to the mode in which paupers were buried in the churchyard through which they walked to enter the church. During the week he had been called to officiate at the funeral of an aged pauper. On looking for the name, as was his wont, on the lid of the coffin, first of all no plate of any kind for the name was discoverable on the four rough-hewn planks containing the mortal coil; no, nor was any letter even in chalk to be seen to enable the reader of the Burial Service to tell whether it was a "dear brother" or a "dear sister" whose remains he was assisting in consigning to their final resting-place. The officiating clergyman, as was his wont, at the conclusion of his discourse the following Sunday morning, brought these facts before the congregation—a large and fashionable one,—urging upon his hearers his conviction that the poor are very hardly dealt with by their so-called Guardians. His remarks upon this subject were shortly after noticed in the *Southgate Messenger*, but the reviewer, though somewhat humourous, was manifestly on the side of the preacher in his sentiments on the inhumanities of the new Poor Law.

It is now thirty long years and more since the writer of these remarks took Holy Orders. How has his soul been stirred at various times from its lowest depths at contemplating the miseries of the helpless poor throughout England and Scotland, at least, if not Ireland also. In several parishes and districts of Great Britain, where at different periods his lot for a time has been cast, he has come in contact with these miseries—unparalleled, he can now boldly assert from personal observation, throughout Europe. If the pulpits of the land have been for the most part silent—let their prudent occupants say why,—the press has often nobly performed its duty in directing public attention to these dreadful sufferings of the deserving poor. How have the daily papers resounded with utterances clamant enough it might be thought to stir heaven and earth—specially when dilating on the flagrant wrongs of the perishing outcast poor! Alas, if England had not long since been given over to a reprobate mind leading her to despise the cry of the destitute, and, while leaning on that reed which is destined to pierce her own hand,—the false teaching of her political economists,—to mock at the commands of their Maker, long, long since would the silent appeals to heaven of those who have none to help been heard, and the oppressed poor "rightened" (Isaiah i, 17, marginal reading). The God of all grace has given wisdom to the

people of Elberfeld to regard the cry of the destitute. Nay, these pious people deem it their duty to *seek out* the wretched, not merely to philosophise upon the causes of distress, but to sympathise with and relieve that distress, let the causes be what they may. Have they found that such sympathy and assistance are dangerous, tending to destroy independence and self-reliance? Far otherwise. Just in proportion as they have demonstrated a real concern for suffering, has the number of the sufferers decreased. That wretched *laissez-faire* system of leaving "*les misérables*" to themselves finds no sympathy with Elberfelders. The German is too many-sided in his views and far-seeing in his perceptions not to be well aware that *neglect* of any amount of abject poverty in a State is the most perilous of all adventures. He knows that as soon as the suffering have just cause of complaint, the foundations of society are instantly endangered. How has England's history proved this from the moment when the merciless code of the new Poor Law was yet in embryo, begotten by the Spirit of Mammon in its originators' dark chambers of imagery! Forthwith appeared rick-burning in the agricultural counties, Rebeccaism in Wales, Chartism *et id genus omne* throughout the land. From this fatal moment the rich and the poor have no longer felt that they are "one body," but two deadly opposing forces. Hence have sprung into existence Fenianism and a fierce spirit of Democracy, tending who shall say whither? This it is to forsake the "good way" of charity to the poor which our fathers trod, and to devise schemes not for relieving misery when it comes — and come it must, more or less, in every State,—but for *starving* it out of the community. Yes, "Malthus, Mr Ricardo, Mr M'Culloch, and others, say that they (*i.e.*, the distressed, both parents and children, just before referred to) ARE TO BE ABANDONED TO STARVATION" (see Popular Cyclopædia, *Black and Co., Edinburgh*). The reviewer, however, to his credit, remarks—"But a doctrine so abhorrent to our nature is only a hideous theory, which cannot enter into the laws or habits of any people until human nature shall be sunk into brutal hard-heartedness."

But there are not a few in the present day who seem to think that there should exist in a State no legal provision for the poor. They appear to hold and teach that were the State properly governed destitution would be superseded. But can they point to a nation or people in all Europe where the need of assistance does not exist, or whose laws do not contemplate and provide for the relief of distress? How Utopian to imagine that poor helpless

persons will "cease out of the land!" The streams of poverty are as certain to flow as rivers from the Alpine heights, where eternal snows supply the sources. Any notion of the absolute discontinuance of poverty is no less vain than that of the rustic in Horace, who stopped at the brink of the river waiting till the stream had passed by and away. But,

"Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum."

"Vain man desist! those flatt'ring hopes forego

"It flows and flows, and will for ever flow."

We have, therefore, to plead with those who, knowing that destitute persons will always be found, devise measures for their relief; and our sympathy is with those, and only with those, who candidly allow it to be the first duty of a community "to support the weak," according to Apostolic preaching and practice. Hence, when, some eight or ten years since, a body of labouring men met in London to form themselves into a society for mutual assistance, and boldly and charitably maintained that the duty of the strong and healthy and able-bodied was to help the weak and sickly, and even the less skilful of their fellow-workmen, the writer, on hearing these noble fellows boldly proclaiming these disinterested sentiments, was ready to exclaim, "Eureka, eureka;" and instantly gave them his name and his mite in support of their generous cause.

We envy not the perceptions of those who, after contrasting the voluntary system of the Elberfeld administration of relief with the highly-paid, nay, overpaid, one of England, and their respective results, can nevertheless arrive at the conclusion that the Anglican has nothing to learn, nothing to alter, or amend. The judgments of such singularly gifted individuals would be proof against the application of all the hellebore of the three Anticyræ. Oh, that another Democritus would arise to ridicule, as it merits such worse than Abderitan obtuseness and self-conceit! To shut one's eyes in broad daylight and swear that the sun does not shine is scarcely less preposterous than to maintain that we are wiser than our neighbours with all the world against us in this matter. "But," say the wisecracks in Parliament, both the lords of broad-acres of land and those of the heavy bales of cotton, "the law works well." Why? Simply because by its terrorism thousands of persons are famished who ought to be fed, that the legislators themselves might have the money thus impiously saved by their unrighteous withholding of that which is due to others, to lavish upon their lusts, giving as some of them do more than two hundred guineas for a box at the Opera for a single season, and when

that is over, searching excitement throughout the Continent where their "cankered (see St. James) gold and silver" is scattered like dust among foreigners, who are ready to think that the very streets of England are paved with the "sordid pelf." But, patience! ye toilers and moilers with your used-up famished parents and your stunted and starving children, for is there not One who speaks and it is done "Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

England is become a by-word among the nations of Christendom. We say this advisedly, after mingling as we have done during the last five or six years, for the most part, with the peoples of Europe, from Berlin to Lisbon, and from the Straits of Dover to those of Gibraltar. At the *table d'hôte*, in the railway carriage, or in the steamboat, let a man talk familiarly with his casual neighbour, and he will soon discover the estimate that is formed abroad of England's "greatness." The writer remembers meeting with some Spanish merchants from Catalonia, at that time trading at Genoa. He got into conversation with them, and learnt that they had visited London. Their first utterance with respect to the modern Babylon was, "Here we saw *beaucoup de misère*." Foreigners cannot understand that there should be found in England such a mass of desperate poverty side by side with such unparalleled displays of wealth and magnificence. At all events, it is only rendered intelligible to them by the observation of Victor Hugo, viz., that England is a country which has learnt the way to accumulate wealth but not to distribute it. But has England absolutely none of all the sons she has brought forth to lead her by the hand and show her the good and the right way? Yes, she has men like John Ruskin, who boldly tell her that Mammon is her God. But these she regards as "having hearts better than their heads," despite her admiration of their talents as demonstrated in their appreciation of the artistic and the beautiful.

Some foreigners consider that *infidelity* is now sapping and mining the very foundations of England's power. This is quite possible. But what is the fruitful cause of the growth of infidelity? Again, we must point to the teaching of Professor Ruskin, who shows that England has its so-called "faith," but it is a "credo" which she has the frankness to acknowledge "will not work"—cannot be put in practice. The Gospel her guides allow to be pretty in theory, but impossible, as to any practical application of its teaching. Such was the sentiment that without doubt

pervaded the councils of the nation when the Poor Law Amendment Act was brought forth. Charity, Christian charity, the first principle of which is that *the weak must be supported* was thrown to the winds. It was held and taught by the Political Economists of the day that weakness is worthlessness—to be got rid of, not to be supported. Their hatred of the poor and needy was marked by its acrimony and virulence. The man that could not find, or make work for himself, was stigmatised as a drone to be expelled from the hive and crushed. Yes, such is the fiendish spirit from which emanated the New Poor Law.

The inhumanity of such regulations was, of course, speedily felt by those whom it more immediately concerned and perceived even by those connected with the administration of the New Poor Law. Thus in a little work entitled, "The Poor Man's Guide to Relief under the New Poor Law, by a Person engaged under the new Law," we read at page 4 :—"The natural consequence of the difficulties thus experienced, and the denial of the relief thus needed, on account of the irregularity of the mode of application, is, that the poor give ready credence to the statement, that the object of the new Law is to reduce the rates and abridge the comforts of the poor man. (What more natural?) Whereas its real object and tendency is to elevate his moral condition, and to procure for him what he is entitled to—adequate remuneration from his employer in return for his day's work, and relief in cases of real necessity." Now, here we learn that the advocate of the new system pretends that the proper effect of it is to advance wages. How preposterous! The very reverse is notoriously the fact. The truth is, that instead of augmenting the labourer's wages, its obvious and natural effect is to diminish them. When a poor man finds that the only alternative presented to him, is to accept inadequate wages, or "to go into the House," despite the feeling that he is unjustly treated, he accepts the former branch of the alternative. Thus the Guardian of the Union, who is often a farmer, as in the case of Stinton (see page 20), avails himself of the oppressive enactments of the Poor Law system to maintain a low rate of wages. This is the main cause why agricultural labourers in many counties, since the year 1834, have been so inadequately remunerated for their labour.

Let us turn our attention to another regulation no less dead against the poor man, and in favour of the employer of labour *than that we have just mentioned*. The quotation in proof shall be a brief extract from "The Poor Laws Unmasked, by a late

Relieving Officer" (London, 1859). This little work gives "The General Order of the Poor Law Board of 1852, the fifth article of which is as follows :—"No relief shall be given to any able-bodied male person while he is employed for wages, or other hire or remuneration by any person."

Now let the reader observe well and carefully the operations of such a regulation under existing circumstances. Let it be borne in mind that the state in no way interferes to protect the labourer from the oppression of the Capitalist. Thus—agricultural labourers in Dorsetshire, Suffolk, and other counties, where wages for years have been 8s or 9s per week, were never in a single instance "rightened" by the state against their oppressors. And yet "no relief shall be given" to persons thus employed at a starving rate of wages! "Save us from our friends," may such unfortunate people well say, wages being cruelly low, and no parochial relief afforded! What could be more oppressive? The farmers and supporters of the New Law pretended, as we have seen, that the two would not be co-ordinated. But subsequent experience has abundantly proved that the "no help from the parish" system has *kept down* wages at starving point. And Capitalists and employers of every name and description have equally availed themselves also of the stringent regulations of the Law. Thus—slop-shirt sellers, knowing well the deep-rooted antipathy of the poor to the Union House, have had the conscience to give widows and other destitute needle-women, ninepence a dozen, or three farthings for the making of shirts. Now before the year 1834, that is, during the maintenance of the law of Elizabeth for the relief of the poor, all such oppression on the part of employers was known and exposed, because then *the rates were to make up the deficiency in wages*. Then, the poor in applying for parochial relief could justly plead the inadequacy of their remuneration. Then, public opinion was elicited touching the scale of wages. But now, the employer may oppress to his heart's content, knowing that the secret groaning of the oppressed will never come abroad.

The Elberfelders, as we have seen, on finding the poor giving the labour of their hands for an insufficiency of bread, do *not* say to them we will give you no relief because you are employed, lest it might only encourage your employers to give you even lower wages still for your work, but, since you cannot get more we will help you, for we cannot see you slowly starved. It becomes then a matter of notoriety that certain employers in Elberfeld *so inadequately remunerate the labour they employ, that their employes*

are in consequence relieved by the state. Now, who can doubt that the obloquy and opprobrium arising from this speedily produce an advancement in wages, or to the putting down of the mercantile establishment, when unable to give adequate wages? However this may be, the people of Elberfeld deem it their duty to supplement inadequate wages, when they discover unfortunate work-people this insufficiently remunerated for their labour. Let the condition of the people of Elberfeld be compared with that of any like town in England, and then let it be pronounced which of the two is the wiser and the happier.

But what after all do we plead for? Able-bodied men for the most part can now obtain work. Very few of these either need, or ask for, parochial help. But it is otherwise with the sick, the aged, and the widow. The two former of these classes require, and have a right to, assistance, if they have failed to save by their often incompetent earnings, sufficient for their support in prolonged sickness and advanced age. As to the widow, if left by the breadwinner without children, she may yet by the labour of her hands obtain an honest living for herself, but with five or six young children how is this possible?

Perchance, it will be said, what has a clergyman to do with this difficult subject of relieving the poor? Should he not confine his labours to "prayer and the ministry of the word?" This we admit the Apostles did, but *not till they had seen the destitute and the widows duly provided for*. Let their successors do the same and we are satisfied. One indispensable duty of a parochial clergyman is the visiting of the poor. True, he has to minister to them the bread of life; but what if he finds them pining and wretched through lack of the bread that perisheth? At first he gives relief possibly from his own private resources. But the parish is populous, and he soon finds that to persevere in this course would bring him and his family to beggary. Well, then, he will take now, it may be, to begging from others for the relief of the suffering; and so he solicits aid from the well-to-do. Here, however, he is soon met with the remark, "These are crosses for parish relief." He has therefore to tell the poor, aged, blind man, who lives too long for the ephemeral charities of his wealthy neighbours, that he must seek relief in future within the Union. But so deterrent has this boasted refuge for the destitute been rendered by the wisdom of the legislature, that the poor sightless petitioner for aid turns away now, with utter disgust, from such a mockery of relief, and *busies his fingers* in unravelling ends of ropes, and, having

twisted them again into a cord sufficiently long and strong, rushes out of the world from among his fellow Christians (!) by whom he has already been made to think that he has lived too long for them by hanging himself. Again, the clergyman has a wife; she, too, makes domiciliary visits. Widows not a few are found within the parish. One of these who has just entered upon her widowhood, when the Union is pointed out as the only asylum provided by the benevolence of a so-called Christian country remarks to her visitor, "Ma'am, I don't care for myself, but once I was compelled to be for a time in the House, and when they took away from me my little ones, it seemed to me as if they were taking them away to be slaughtered." She, therefore, declines the proffered help, and goes off nobody knows whither—and her children, where are they? These, of course, are drawn into the *Maelstrom* to be found now in every large town—the vortex for what are called the Arabs of the streets. These, be it observed, are instances of poor and destitute persons, rendered so by no fault of their own, but by the mysterious dispensations of Providence. But to return to our clergyman, the ordained defender of the oppressed. Can he be silent? If he can, we do not envy him his peace and plenty secured by such a desertion of his duty. Let him be elevated to the Episcopate, still less can we congratulate him. But when his Lordship has the hardihood to say—despite this flagrant oppression of the afflicted and helpless, "we must take care in our relief of the poor not to encourage improvidence and destroy self-reliance"—however just the caution in its proper place—truth and justice compel us to reply, thou hypocrite*!

And here we are bold to remark that if the Church of the nation had followed such men as the late Bishop of Exeter, and other

* This episcopal oracle was reported by the press at the time it was uttered—not exactly *ex-cathedra*, but from the platform of a public meeting. Another Bishop—not a wiser one—has since that time been reported as standing side by side with a noble Duke and declaring, much to the gratification of his Grace, that any oppressed agricultural labourer, on being discovered to have become a member of the Agricultural Union with the hope of being better remunerated for his honest toil, should have a rope thrown about his neck and be dragged through the next horse-pond. A third member of the distinguished Bench of this the latter half of the 19th century is reported to have assigned as his reason for not accepting an invitation to a public meeting of importance, that his Lordship was engaged to be present at a *croquet-party*. A fourth instance of a Bishop's idea of his overseership is found in the fact of his declaring, in reference to the Public Worship Regulation Act, that should any of his Lordship's clergy render themselves amenable to the law, his Lordship's purpose is "to look over the hedge"—curious example this of what St. Peter designates the *oversight* of Elders or Chief Pastors! To make up the *quinque primi*, we may point to one so needing the enlightening "eye-salve" that he cannot see any harm in the Eastern Position. Position or Imposition, it is all one to such as these. No marvel that there is one at least of our Church Rulers that has no confidence in any of his brethren on the Bench, and refuses to sign their Manifesto. But, alas for that Church when children are called to direct her steps! Churches on the Continent—Lutheran no less than others—are discovering the wisdom of *Bunsen* in heartily praying that other Churches may be long spared the degradation of anything resembling the English Episcopate.

pastors, men not many in number, but the very salt of their order in respect of their Christian charity, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 would never have become law.

What a contrast does the spirit in which this Act was conceived present to that which actuated the Elberfelders in their laudable desire to relieve the necessities of the unfortunate.

The aim of the legislature in the one is manifestly hostile and deterrent, while that of the other is no less clearly to call forth sympathy on behalf of the necessitous and to afford them succour. But why was England so uncharitable? The answer is, because the legislature in 1834 was under the persuasion that the poor were unwilling to work, and that they imposed upon the rich. Never was the national proverb concerning the "bad name," and its cruel working more signally verified. But, the poor of England, for self-reliance and independence, may be matched against any other people in the world. Let them have but the means of earning an honest livelihood set before them, and they will turn away with disgust from everything like proffered assistance. Where is the workman to be found who can be compared with the English workman? or, what tiller of the fields can toil as the English labourer?

When one looks more closely into the spirit of the legal provision for the poor, keeping in view at the same time, the noble self-reliance of the labouring man, the conclusion is forced upon us that the lords of the soil in both Houses of Parliament only knew too well the virtues and patience of the rural population when they passed the New Poor Law Amendment Act. They knew that the honest pride of the poor rendered distasteful to them even the merciful provision of the Elizabethan law in the form of the workhouse. The problem, therefore, was, when the labour-market was glutted, how shall we keep off the too numerous applicants for relief—relief, either in being found work, or assisted with money? A law then was passed which relieved the parish of the obligation to find work for the unemployed. At the same time Union Houses in Yorkshire phraseology, *Bastilles*, are to be erected which shall scare off all but dare-devils amongst the poor from availing themselves of its deterrent provisions, and to brave, in preference, all the horrors of starvation.

Elberfeld, Prussia, August, 1873.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND AND THE INTERNATIONAL.*

At a time when reviewers are not only allowed but inclined to descant upon the rapid strides of democracy, speculating on the probable results of this phase of political opinion, regarding it as threatening even the subversion of the Throne at no very distant period, (see the "*Revue Britannique*" for July 1871,) it becomes every Englishman animated with the love of his country, to turn his attention to the existing state of things, in order to discover, if possible, the causes that have led to the desire of change in men's minds. Those who have long watched the signs of the times, if only their minds have been preserved from prejudice and lack of candour, so often the result of education, will not be surprised to find that the national attachment to time-honoured institutions has diminished year by year since the first quarter of the present century, and very especially during the whole of the third quarter now verging on its close.

As to the Throne, that this should have lost so much of its prestige, cannot be owing to any personal disadvantages of its occupant, during this period. The eminent virtues of England's honoured and beloved Queen have surely tended rather to prevent, or at all events retard the growing unpopularity of monarchical institutions. We must therefore turn our eyes from the Court, and look to other quarters, would we discover the true causes of the decline of monarchy in the popular estimation. Nor have the two other branches of the British Constitution escaped the prevailing dis-esteem of the people for their rulers. And, the nearer the Palace the greater the aversion. Thus the House of Lords is commonly regarded, by those who have imbibed democratic principles, as utterly unnecessary for the purposes of legislation, whether to initiate, or to supervise and check. That this second division of our tripartite government should be hereditary, as well as the first, as if the art of ruling were in the veins, not brains, of

* For some months, in 1871-1872, the author was engaged as co-editor of the *Swiss Times*, at that time published as a daily journal at Geneva. Some portion of the remarks in this chapter appeared from time to time in that publication. As its circulation, however, was but limited—especially in England—the reader, it is hoped, will excuse the fact that this small part of the present work is a re-print.

men; and that one constituent portion of it should be supplied from the ranks of the Church, which is commonly supposed to be conversant with matters but remotely connected with general legislation—these, too, are circumstances, which, of late, more than ever have been pronounced by the people as unfavourable to good government. As to the third estate of the realm—the lower house of Parliament, this, though representative, and, therefore, from the nature of its constitution, recommending itself better to such as are inclined to democratic sentiments than the other two, has, nevertheless, from the intimate relations of its members, for the most part, with the aristocratic portion of the country, and other not unlike causes, much to *unlearn*, before it can be veritably acceptable to men of enlarged and enlightened minds. Whether it be destined to effect the regeneration of its country without being itself submitted to more radical reforms than any it has hitherto experienced, is to many very questionable. Whatever may be in store, however, either of internal change, or work to be accomplished, for this third estate of the realm, it seems certain that to this branch of government the eyes of England are more expressly directed for improvement in legislation.

And yet up to the present hour how far removed does the House of Commons appear to be from any consciousness of its high calling. The one question which England has for the last quarter of a century more particularly had to solve has been her *social state*. While other nations in Christendom are in this respect comparatively at ease, England, from this cause, at different periods, has been convulsed to the very centre. True it is, that among other nations the two Hesperias, Italy and Spain, have not been exempted from apprehensions through social difficulties. But the difference between the condition of these countries and our northern one is essential. The lower middle classes in these may be far from prosperous, but the number of greatly impoverished or absolutely destitute persons in the south of Europe is inconsiderable. Wealth, though greatly limited in comparison with our own enormous masses of it, is far more equally distributed. Hence, Chartism and Fenianism have no counterparts among Italians and Spaniards. If there are amongst them men given to change, the questions of the day, as among the latter at this moment, are rather dynastic, or purely political than of a social character. In England we repeat it, the case is otherwise. Here the question is—How are the millions to be saved from that destruction, which like the sword of *Damocles* is ever threatening to fall on their defenceless head,

whilst by their own anxious toil millionaires are perpetually being made, among the aristocracy, from the greatly increased and ever increasing value of their lands; and among the merchant-princes from the vast accumulation of their capital? As to agricultural wages, these were never lower, considering the prices of house-rent and provisions; whilst, as employers of labour, the largest capitalists are, in general, the least inclined to give fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Thus, as it regards the toilers and moilers, more than ever is it true "*Sic vos non vobis*," &c.

A voluminous writer, who is also a preacher, in dealing with the memorable prediction of the New Testament relative to the breaking up of systems of society, merely human, as preparatory to the introduction of "the new heavens and the new earth," persuades himself, or at least attempts to persuade his readers and hearers, that England will be exempt from that distress which is coming upon the earth. At the time when this self-sufficient interpreter of prophecy thus countenanced England's crying sins—whose name is indeed Legion—she had heard little either of Fenianism or Communism. "Peace, peace," was her self-solacing boast. True, she had prophets, who, like "that fellow Micaiah," prophesied not good but evil. One of these had refused to thank the Just One for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny at the bidding of the Primate, stating his reason for it publicly in a letter addressed to the then Earl of Derby. Despite the oily-tongued preacher of Crown Court Chapel, and the mock denunciations of the Tabernacle-Thunderer—despite the clap trap, whether on the side of Brimstone or Treacle—there were not wanting *honest* "witnesses" against the hollowness and corruption of all ranks of Englishmen both at home and abroad. These with their withering logic of facts demonstrated that whether the Opium trade in China, or the treatment of its paupers at home, were the question of the day, the object of England's worship was Mammon; and, woe to that prophet, on either bank of the Thames, that would presume to demonstrate and denounce that worship! Neither the "respectable" rate-paying followers of the sleek Boanerges at the Surrey Tabernacle, nor the aristocratic admirers of the canny Scotsman in Covent Garden would for a moment have tolerated either, had they veritably shewn themselves of the type of that fellow Micaiah.

We point to these "oracles" of England, not because of their individual importance, but because, so far as we are aware, none of England's teachers, whether sectarian or national, have succeeded so well as these in persuading their congregations that they are

verily and indeed messengers of the Lord of Hosts—messengers to rebuke as well as to console. So conscious is the nation that something is rotten in the state of Denmark that for England's teachers to have nothing to say against her is for them to preach to pews, not people. Charletans of every type well know this—hence their mock-philippics. You may soon discover them. Try them upon the cries of the poor so derided by the House of Commons. Those who preach to set themselves up in houses of cedar, whether in Montague Street or Clapham Common, are never found to antagonise the cruel calumny both of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats, viz., that the poor are poor by their own fault. The reason is plain; were either the one or the other, steadily to maintain that England is really “crucifying the Son of God afresh” in the sufferings inflicted on His poor brethren, and putting Him thus to an open shame, their popularity would speedily become a vanishing quantity. They will preach, indeed, against sins in high places; they will readily allow their hearers to

“Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to;”

but ask these puritans to stand up boldly for the suffering million, and denounce, as every minister of Christ ought, the persecution of the poor as such; and they will tell you your only wish can be to see their chapels emptied. But let these doughty champions of the cross forsooth! go their way unto the end; let them continue to put sweet for bitter, and bitter for sweet; let them be wise in their own conceits and prudent in their own counsels; but what are we to say of the *Nation's* spiritual guides? Surely of all the sons that the Church of England has brought forth—of the twenty thousand and upward clergy of the Establishment there must be some to take her by the hand in her time of need and as her “decadence” approaches? No; thanks to her Erastian system. Reader, consider well the constitution of Church and State. Who is the Bishop-maker? Is it not the Premier, or some mentor of the Premier as in the days of the jaunty Broadlands one?—I need not remark upon the power of my Lord Bishop; and how earnestly coveted is the smile of his Lordship by every clergyman in his Diocese. This is too well known to be dilated on. It will be enough here to notice in passing the obsequiousness of the Clergy to the Bishop by adducing the sarcastic doggerel of Sydney Smith *touching one of the charges of a Prelate of his day*:

"Hunt not, dance not, fiddle not,
 "Fish not, shoot not, gamble not,
 "But above all things, this is my particular desire,
 "That once a week, at least, you take
 "Your dinner with the squire."

This could not have been written by so acute an observer of men and manners, had he not been shamed by the miserable toadyism of the clergy. Further, notice here also, gentle reader, the connexion that exists between the squire-archy and the clergy, in the eye of a Bishop; and never, after expect for a moment that, where a knife and fork are laid once a week "at least" upon the table for the parson, this functionary will be found defending the cause of Lazarus versus Dives. Expect sooner, as Horace says, the rivers to ascend the lofty mountains, or the Tiber to revert to his source. Hence then, "these are all dumb dogs, lying down, loving to slumber, nay, greedy dogs which can never have enough" for themselves; and, therefore, never on the alert against the ravenous wolves not sparing the flock. And lest you should think that all Bishops are not thus in league with Squires, just reflect that the one qualification of a clergyman for promotion to the Episcopate is that special virtue of the cardinal ones, that in the eye of a Premier eclipses all the rest, viz., Prudence, alias, Policy, alias, Worldly Wisdom. What the Bishop-makers want, first and last is—a safe man. Who then will look for honest teaching from such a quarter?

Then further, let it not be forgotten that the one grand aim of every ambitious clergyman is the mitre. This prize without any spur from Homer he continually—*dies noctesque*—sets before him. Whether he preaches *ad clerum* or *ad populum* at St. Mary's, or in Exeter Hall, before big-wigs or cockneys—they are the lawn sleeves *in prospectu* that stimulate his oratory. This is "the prize of his high calling;" with this in view, he is ready to become all things to all men; to be in turn a Dryasdust for cars polite, or a Boanerges *ad captandum*.

But there are not a few in the present day who, in respect of labouring for the spiritual good of their neighbours, are a species of volunteers. They are disposed to join neither the regulars of the Church nor the desultories of Dissent in their efforts for the amelioration of the masses. Their minds appear to be open to the painful fact that the lower grades of society are rapidly deteriorating, despite both Church and meeting-house. They then would fain do something more than, and something different from Churchmen on the one side and Dissenters on the other. Occasionally we find these widely scattered irregulars, after moving a little among the

strays and waifs of society, to be appalled at the greatness of their number, and the depth of their destitution. Now it cannot be said that these are either red-tape or blue-book men, as those in general are, who are the teachers of large congregations. They have broken through the trammels that bind so rigidly such as are resolved to be with the many, right or wrong. But, alas, as to the tens of thousands in rags and wretchedness, they are powerless to relieve them; nor do they appear to discover the means of any permanent improvement in their condition. They will benefit here and there individuals, or single families; but the great bulk of festering misery remains uncared for. And intent as they are on the defence and propagation of their respective Shibboleths, imagining that these if generally embraced would bring about the regeneration of the masses, nothing is done, or any scheme devised, for accomplishing good upon an extensive scale. Hence, by all these no less than by those they come out from, are the masses still suffered to increase and degenerate, and thus society to be ever more and more undermined.

We are glancing at the elements of society more especially religious. It is these, if any, who seem most to be aware that it is the duty of all, who profess and call themselves Christians, to see that the poor, and such as are in need, have right. Some of them know, too, that it is only on condition that they righten the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow, &c., that the God of the bible has promised to make their sins though as scarlet to be white as snow; and though red like crimson, to be as wool (Isaiah 1.). And yet may any of these discover by means of the most superficial inquiry that our outcasts are largely increased in number, and that continually, by Guardians and parochial authorities flinging to the winds the claims of the widow and the fatherless, to save their own pockets, being fully supported in this oppression of those who have none to help them, by the Administrators of the costly system of poorlaw relief introduced by that infidel piece of legislation entitled the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

It would seem, therefore, that the work of *social regeneration* will not be taken in hand by any religious body. Shame indeed that it should be so; but such is the painful fact. Of course such a result was to be anticipated from the time that it was seen that the Established Church had basely consented to transfer God's poor to the tender mercies of Poor Law Boards.

It may be, my fellow-countrymen, that you care little for the *doings and sayings* of either Pastors or Priests; that your confi-

dence in the representatives of the nation for the maintenance of England's independence and prestige, among the peoples of Christendom and the nations of the world. You have been alarmed, it may be, by the curious speculations upon your country's approaching decadence that certain writers have, of late, allowed their pens to depict.

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Possibly you comfort yourselves with the belief that the sources of power so nicely and wisely balanced between those that control the destinies of England—that the glorious institution, in fact, must stand the stress of all the opposing forces whether from within or from without that can be brought against it. But do you not perceive that this hope may prove fallacious, whilst so large a portion of the people are only kept from declaring their pauperism by the dread of the consequences that such a declaration would entail? You think that all classes are now fairly represented because the suffrage is in the hands of most people. But were this really so, are they, or can they be, rightly and truly represented? That the working classes—the producers of wealth who are now fast becoming conscious both of their universal utility and their strength—are not as yet represented, as to their sentiments at least, is soon proved. One principle of the International Society of the working classes, as is well known, is that the strong should support the weak. They boldly proclaim this principle as a positive duty—a duty taught by the primary notions of human society. The claims of age and sickness they cannot, they dare not, ignore. Thus, though they are often freely charged with atheism, are they the declared champions of the duties specially inculcated by Christianity. But look at the House of Commons. Listen to the oracles of St. Stephen's when an inquiry into the working of the New Poor Law is proposed, or any cognate question by some member ill at ease when Communists are increasing because so many hundreds perish annually in London alone of sheer starvation. In these six hundred so called representatives of the nation are there to be found some half dozen, perhaps, *i.e.*, one in a hundred, that will defend the principle that it is the duty of the strong to support the weak. And yet, forsooth, the people are represented! No, no. Hence the people can say with the Psalmist, "I am wiser than the senators because I keep thy commandments." True it is, indeed, that provision for the destitute sick and aged is nominally made by the enactments of the New Poor Law. The national con-

science, such as it is, could not otherwise be satisfied. But if that conscience was thoroughly awake, it would perceive that hypocrisy the most consummate characterises this vaunted national provision for the sick and needy. Why? How so? Because this wicked law is so framed as to awe off the proper claimants, and in every possible way to discourage and as far as may be prevent their application for relief. Hence those veritable Bastilles—the Union Houses. Hence the prison dress in form and colour, though in substance far less protective against the cold. Hence the worse than prison diet. Hence the Cerberus to prevent all egress from this infernal abode; the Rhadamanthus and Minos for the so-called “refractory”; the wheel, too, for those that have never offended as Ixion, and the torture of disappointment for such as have never sinned as Tantalus. And this they call a Christian provision for the poor—for those that have toiled all the night in this sin-bestridden world, and have taken nothing—for those that have risen up early and late taken rest and eaten for their threescore and ten or fourscore years the bread of carefulness! “Name it not in Gath; publish it not in the streets of Askelon,” lest the enemies of England point the finger of scorn at her barbarous cruelty.

We have heard that the English Government has commissioned Mr Mayhew to collect information from the principal nations in Europe touching the support and treatment of their poor. The fact itself seems to intimate that the conscience of the Administration is ill at ease on the subject. Certainly, this gentleman need not travel far to find proof that England with all her boasting is centuries behind other nations in Christendom as it regards the support of the poor. The writer has travelled east, west, north, and south in Europe, and can safely assert that, from Berlin to Naples, and from Brussels to Lisbon, no such awful destitution can be discovered as is seen not only in London, but also in Edinburgh and Glasgow; as well as in Liverpool and Manchester. He is able to assert also, that there is not a capital, within the limits mentioned, that does not point with scorn to Great Britain for her merciless and tyrannical legislation concerning the destitute. Thanks to the *Times* from before and after the passing of the New Poor Law Enactment, the continent of Europe has been fully enlightened on this subject. It has no need to be told that the *animus* of the law of 1834 is dead against the poor; that its provision is a cruel mockery, because its conditions are an *insult to human nature*. Look at the forced separation, say all,

not only of aged worn-out couples, but also of the mother—in general a widow—and her little ones. Does not Mammon—England's real god, the golden image that she has set up—demand thus more, and more cruel offerings, than Moloch ever demanded, or than Juggernaut still demands?—The poor old man of fourscore with his partner little less, who have toiled and moiled together for upwards of half a century, paying out of their hard-earned pittance the poor's rate, and living on potatoes—that the law-makers may have larger preserves of game, from which to pamper their palled appetites—to be at last forced asunder, would they keep body and soul together a little longer, and not perish absolutely of starvation! The poor widow, the unfortunate creature who has lost the bread-winner just as her half-a-dozen children are all too young, as yet, to earn a penny, to see these tender ones—two, three, or four years of age—forced from the fostering embraces of their only surviving parent! Yes, such scenes are more than imaginary; the writer can attest their reality, for he has been called to witness them. “Of course,” replies the Guardian, “if we did not make our Unions hells, we should have too many of the poor within them.”

There can be no doubt that the design of the Legislature in 1834, in pretending to amend the law of Elizabeth for the relief of the poor, was to render the attainment of that relief in the highest degree painful and difficult, and, at the same time, uncertain. An impression had obtained that parochial relief was too accessible and too liberal. To remedy this, Unions were formed by including several parishes under the same administration. Some of these were often situated at a distance of five or six miles from the Union House, at which the Guardians were to meet weekly to receive and consider applications for relief. And as these applications were often rejected on some technical ground, which this new law, so merciless to the poor, could readily supply, the consequence was often found to be that poor starving creatures, after walking five or six miles to the Union, would have to walk the same distance to return to their wretched homes *unrelieved*, and probably only kept up from fainting by the way through indignation at the brutal treatment they had received from the Relieving Officer, or some churlish Guardian.

As innumerable instances of this nature occurred, of course, the poor concluded that to seek parochial relief was only to increase their sufferings; and that they had better pine in secrecy, than thus expose their misery with no other result *[than mockery and insult]*.

None, therefore, need be surprised that we are able, alas, to furnish abundant illustrations of our remarks from the annals of the poor of late years. We could append to this paper some pages from merely a private chronicle recording only one class of the innumerable deaths from starvation in London. Professor Owen, it is believed, can construct the megatherium from some fractured portion of a single limb. Will not some moral philosopher arise and demonstrate to England what a monstrous hecatomb of human lives she, through her Poor Law, is continually offering to Mammon?

That "poverty is a crime" is the maxim upon which the framers of the new Poor Law based their enactments, none can doubt who know anything about either the letter or spirit of those enactments. That this crime, moreover, deserves punishment, as well as violations of the statute law, is a principle upon which it is no less evident those legislators proceeded. The erection of Unions throughout the land, with all their contrivances of a deterrent character, is a fact no less indicative of this inhuman view of poverty than the existence of prisons with treadmills is of the supposed necessity of deterring persons from thieving, or any other violation of the laws, by providing the means of punishment. The high walls of these "Bastilles"—the turnkeys at the heels of the incarcerated—the prison dress of the latter so manifestly designed as a stigma—the prescribed dietary inferior as it is both in quality and quantity to that afforded "gaol birds"—the primitive nature of the work assigned to the inmates, oakum picking, and the quantity of it being one-fourth, or even one-third, more in the case of the pauper than in that of the convict—all these things shew, at the slightest glance, that British legislators of the 19th century consider the existence of poverty as *ipso facto* a proof of culpability.

Now here we have that "root of bitterness which springing up has troubled us;" here the fruitful source of all that woe which has fallen so plentifully to the lot of the poor in these last days; here the direful cause of three-fourths, at least, of all those "deaths from destitution" which provoke the scorn and derision of foreigners, and humble to the very dust all right-minded Englishmen. Take, as types, the Victor Hugos for the one, and our John Ruskins for the other. The former shew us that, though we have in a pre-eminent degree discovered the art of accumulating wealth, we utterly ignore the duty of distributing it; while the latter confess with shame that, notwithstanding all our noisy pro-

fession of religion, we are as far from putting into practice the precepts of Christianity as those who have never heard of a revelation from heaven. Mr Ruskin, indeed, boldly tells us that, whilst we would, by no means, deny the existence of a God, and that He has revealed Himself to mankind, both in the former and later dispensations, yet that we have daringly arrived at the conclusion that His commands are not practicable. We consent to call Him Master and Lord, he admits, but at the same time take no pains to conceal the fact that we consider His orders will not work ; thus, apparently, does this able writer, without the consciousness of it, intimate that the words of holy writ are only too applicable to our conduct, "They profess they know God ; but in works they deny Him."

All who have duly examined the principles, and marked the working of the new Poor Law Amendment Act, must have had the conviction forced upon them that not a trace of either the "mercy to the poor" of the Old Testament, or the "charity" (*agapē*) of the New is discoverable in these enactments. Nominally, and according to the preamble, this piece of legislation was conceived and executed for the better relief of the poor ; but the spirit that pervades it betrays the real design to have been the reduction of the Poor-rate. The Elizabethan law that was over-ridden, and practically rendered null and void by this "amendment," was both humane and charitable ; such, in fact, as it became a people professing godliness to enact. This, which superseded it, proceeded from a school of philosophers who made it their boast that they had discovered "a more excellent way" than that of charity. They had the temerity to hold and teach that, if the principles of what they were pleased to call Political Economy, should be found antagonistic to the precepts of religion, the latter must give way. That this is no misrepresentation, we need only quote from the *Popular Cyclopædia* the following :—"The economists of the NEW SCHOOL (as it is sometimes called), namely, that of Malthus, Mr Ricardo, Mr M'Culloch, and others, say that they (*i.e.*, the distressed, both parents and children, just before referred to) ARE TO BE ABANDONED TO STARVATION. But a doctrine so abhorrent to our nature is only a hideous theory which cannot enter into the laws or habits of any people, until human nature shall be sunk into brutal hard-heartedness." Hence it is seen that this northern school of Political Economists, an active member of which was amongst others, Lord Brougham, clearly foresaw what their principles led to, and did not shrink from the dreadful consequence. Let those then of them

who are still living contemplate the black list of the actually starved of late ; and bearing in mind that they are only, after all, an infinitesimal portion of all the hecatombs that have been offered to Mammon, through their principles, let them tell us whether they are still in the same mind, touching the correctness of those principles, so that starvation may yet be multiplied indefinitely, and their theory, at the same time, remain incontrovertibly true. "Facts," it has well been remarked, "are the offspring of the gods, whilst words are but the fantasies of men." We refer you, therefore, Political Economists, to the INVINCIBLE LOGIC OF FACTS.

CHAPTER III.

THE NATIONAL HECATOMB TO MAMMON.

We now give a list of deaths from starvation, which are clearly attributable to the working of the New Poor Law. According to the evidence of the Coroner's Inquests, these deaths were referable to—1. Dread of the Union Workhouse, or II., Past experience of its "tender mercies," or III., Inadequate out-door relief. As we purpose giving them in chronological order, we shall make no attempt to classify them; but it may readily be seen that each and all of these causes are producing the direst effects.

Our terrible record, which extends over a period of about three years, commences with a brief summary of the report in the *Morning Advertiser*, of March 27th, 1864, headed "*Shocking Deaths from Destitution in St. Luke's.*"

1. Sarah Lewis, widow, aged 64 years, had lived since the death of her husband by selling matches at a halfpenny a box. She sometimes took two days to sell six boxes. Four persons—two families—had occupied the one little room, everything in which could not be worth 2s the night previous to her death. She had only a bit of a sheet for her bed-clothes. "*She applied to the workhouse for relief a year ago. They offered to take her into the House, but as she would not go in she got nothing.*"—(Inquest).

Here is an illustration of the working of the "House Test."

2. Eliza Johnson, needlewoman, aged 59 years, died in the workhouse an hour after her admission. She had been sent thither in a dying state from the Playhouse-yard Refuge, where she had been the three previous nights.—(Inquest).

The next two cases are respectively in the *Evening Star* of the same day, and in the *Standard* of the next.

3. Henry Imas, sawyer, aged 57 years, taken in a dying state to the Bethnal Green Workhouse, and died the next morning at 4 o'clock. "The doctor ordered nourishment, and the parish people gave some for a fortnight. They then offered to take him into the workhouse, and as he would not go in they stopped the nourishments and gave nothing."—(Inquest).

4. Mary Ann Staunton, widow, aged 47 years, "who fell down insensible from want of food and cold while vainly endeavouring to pledge a valueless petticoat for 6d, in the shop of a pawnbroker. She was taken to her home, a miserable unfurnished room which she occupied in connection with another woman and two children, equally destitute with herself, where she died. *No application had been previously made by deceased or the other woman for parish relief.*"—(Inquest),

N.B.—This statement (the italics are my own), whatever the object with which it was elicited, will be considered by reflective and discerning persons, as discovering a state of things most conclusively condemnatory of the working of the New Poor Law. These poor creatures live and die as if there were *no* legal provision of relief.

For the week intervening between the dates already given, and those which will follow, we find in the provincial papers the following:—

5. "*A startling case of destitution was made known in Liverpool last week. A poor rag-picker was found dead in her cellar, and neither food, bedding, nor furniture could be seen in her miserable habitation. The evidence given at the inquest shewed that the poor creature had not had any food for some days before her death.*"

* The victims of Poor Law Legislation will be found *wherever* it is in operation.

6. Jeremiah Crump, labourer, out of work, aged 39 years, had been admitted at St. Luke's Workhouse when ill and in rags, and hardly able to speak. Had wandered about the street the whole of the preceding night. Was sent from the workhouse to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but, unable to eat, he died from lockjaw the same day. "Nothing whatever was found in the pockets of the deceased. His body was shockingly emaciated." (Is this the state of destitution required by the New Poor Law before a pauper can claim relief?)

The foregoing case was reported in the papers on the 18th March : the next preceding is

7. March 14th, 1865 : George Brockwell, a cutter of blocks for printing, aged 32 years, nearly blind and lame, applied to the parish for a doctor and assistance. Mr Taylor, the relieving officer, kept on talking about a young man of 32 wanting assistance. Dr. Hibbert said that the poor man died from collapse, brought on by want of proper nourishment. He must have been at one time a man of great strength. If he had had proper food and medical care he would have lived. Verdict accordingly.

8. March 14, 1865 : A child of a shoemaker, in Bethnal-green, aged 3 days. The mother used to be for 15 days together without meat before the child was born. The coroner asked the witness why he did not go into the workhouse rather than subsist in starvation in such a miserable room ? Witness said that his wife had a great objection to the workhouse, and he did not wish to lose a chance of 8s a-week if work turned up. Mr W. H. Brotherton, surgeon, said that the child was the most emaciated he ever saw. The *post-mortem* examination showed a total absence of fat, and the intestines were so attenuated that they appeared like those of a chicken rather than those of a human being. The cause of death was congenital atrophy from the starvation of the mother. The jury found a verdict "That deceased died from congenital atrophy, caused by want of food and nourishment on the part of the mother."

Touching this case and the preceding one, I cannot refrain from transcribing an extract from a letter which appeared in the *Weekly Dispatch* of March 19th :—"Mr Editor,—I have doubted whether I ought to trouble you, or the public through you, with the notice of any more cases of deaths from sheer starvation. The thing is so usual. It is almost a metropolitan institution. Of course it is as necessary and as proper as the perennial filth of London streets. Unless there were much more than an excuse for it, a positive reason for its continuance, however occult, it could not be allowed to wound the consciences of prejudiced weak-minded people. Something would be done to rid the philosophic ear of their "humanitarian" nonsense. Why does not the Poor Law Board, the proper organ of orthodox political economy, speak out once for all ; tell us what number of human sacrifices, the perfection of reason exacts, calculated on infallible averages, and make the ignorant, vulgar mind as easy upon the subject of coroners

inquests bringing in a verdict of "starvation," as it once was upon that of hangings at Newgate for shop-lifting! Some consideration might be shewn for the imbecility of pity, if none for its necessary objects. Perhaps I may find an excuse for treating of the case, that met my eye in Tuesday's *Times*, in the rarity of the example. It is rather a novel specimen for report, though I should by no means presume to say that it is so in fact. To be sure the scene is laid in the old classical ground of desperate misery; the paragraph is headed "Starvation in Bethnal-green," a sort of assurance of authenticity like a narrative of slave-hunting in Ashantee."

Here follow some withering remarks on the case of the poor starved mother and babe. The writer thus proceeds:—"Do not let it be supposed that there is any lack of the more usual intelligence of this kind. Wednesday's *Daily News* furnishes an example of the ordinary staple.".....Here the case of poor Brackwell is described.

Touching this "old classical ground of desperate misery" Bethnal-green, the writer would call attention to an article that appeared in the *Saturday Review* respecting an open-air preacher some two or three years ago. It was headed "*A Clerical Fire-brand.*" The writer of this article made himself merry with his own suggestion that the preacher, who had described in a sermon published in "The Pulpit," the distressing case of John Blake, a blind man, 73 years of age, who had hung himself through dread of the Union Workhouse, should have a kind of stage representation of the drama of self-destruction, which in this case was affected with so much dexterity in circumstances of difficulty apparently insuperable. With this talent for mocking at the dreadful miseries of the oppressed poor, will the *Saturday Review* allow this "novel specimen of congenital atrophy" pass unimproved? But let us not do it injustice; it seems to have repented in some measure of its utterances in that and other articles in advocacy of Poor Law oppressors; for a few weeks since it clearly showed that the poor are not likely to obtain the relief to which they are entitled by law so long as that relief is administered by those who have a direct interest in withholding what is due. Guardians, under the present system, save the rates, i.e., spare their own pockets, as in general they are the principal ratepayers in their parishes. Moreover, anent the Reviewer's censorial remarks upon the open-air preacher, it may be observed that subsequently praise has been substituted for censure. But whether this able and oftentimes most useful

critic of men's sayings and doings rebuke or applaud, it seems that the preacher has hitherto steadily persisted in his course indifferent alike to smiles and frowns.

9. The case designated by the *Standard* "Poor Law Tragedy." The sufferers were a family of the name of Jones. The father was away in the country in search of work. The children are all struck down by fever, together with the mother, who perishes.

Extracts from the leader in the *Standard* on this "Tragedy": "By Monday morning there was nothing in the place for these sick creatures to eat or drink, nor a particle of coal or candle to burn." The mother had to earn a living for herself and four children, the eldest a girl of 12 years old. When struck down with fever, 'the parish allowed for the four children three loaves and one shilling, with a little beef-ten and wine—for the mother nothing! The weather was bitterly cold, and fuel was 15d. per cwt. The four children lay in one wretched bed on the floor, covered with a few pieces of carpet, and their own day clothes; while the famishing worn-out mother lay down on the bare boards, tending her charge as best she could night and day."

The black list will now be continued in another form. The names of Mammon's victims, at this wretched period of the nineteenth century—wretched despite all its proud boastings—will now be set forth horizontally in groups, numbered and dated, their respective ages being also recorded, together with the names of the Coroners who held inquests on their poor wasted bodies, whilst the facts in evidence will also be appended. The author would have it well understood that he invariably abstained from recording in his note-books any of those, alas, too numerous cases, which were attributed to excess in drink.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
10	1865. March 4	Wm. Wedge	Years. 9	Mr J. Humphries	Stomach and intestines perfectly empty and distended with air; body very much emaciated.
11	Feb. 24	Wm. Jones	55	Mr Richards	No house—no friends. Had not tasted food for two days. Had been employed for years as a labourer, at Messrs. Cubitt's. Did not know his parish.
12	Feb. 2	A man unknown ...	38	"Inquest"— Registrar-Genl.'s Report. Do.	Disease of the lungs, accelerated by exposure and destitution.
13	Feb. 11	A waterman.....	85	Do.	Inflammation of the arm, aggravated by privations.
14	Feb. 4	A tailor.....	61	Do.	Disease of the liver, hastened by want of nourishment and nursing.
15	Feb. 16	Son of a labourer ...	2	Do.	Pneumonia, accelerated by want.
16	Feb. 11	Michael Collins	58	Mr Richards	Said he would never go into the workhouse, Five years' ago had applied to the parish for aid. The relieving officer gave him a 4lb. loaf, and told him if he came again he should "get the stones."
17	Feb. 8	Ann Harding	43	.....	Death accelerated by want of warmth, necessities, and nourishment. Parish relief after three weeks was stopped.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

NO.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
35	1864. November	Jas. Haywood	Years. 52	.....	By a Juror—"He was starved to death. The room was not fit for a human being to live in." He had been in the workhouse, but came out in a week, saying, "I would rather die at home than stay there."
36	Nov. 7	Elizabeth Asprey ...	48	Mr W. J. Payne...	Would not see the parish doctor, alleging that if she did she would have to go into the workhouse, which she objected to.
37	Oct. 25	Caroline Smith .....	.....	Dr. Lankaster	A poor shirt-maker. Bed, a heap of dirty rags. Had eaten nothing from the parish for half a quarter of a week before her death. Medical aid was not provided by the parish.
38	Oct. 26	Margaret Erron	9	Not stated	Stomach and intestines empty.
39	Oct. 30	— Jameson .....	.....	.....	Shoe-binder. Bit by bit she parted with her clothes, and at last lay down and died. Refused to go into the workhouse.
40	Sept. 21	Two women.....	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	From "want or fever."
41	Sept. 13	A woman .....	.....	Do.	From "destitution."
42	Sept. 13	Emma Moss.....	38	{ Not stated	No traces of food found in either of the stomachs.
43	Sept. 13	Jane Moss	40		Found lying dead on the pavement in a very emaciated condition, and almost naked.
44	Sept. 3	Man unknown.....	70	Mr Richards	"Death accelerated by fatigue from overwork, by absence of stimulating nourishment, and of clothing and other necessaries."
45	Sept. 2	Lucretia Jeffreys ...	24	Mr Humphries ..	.....
46	Aug. 24	A boy	10 weeks	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Exhaustion from destitution.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

NO.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
47	1864. Aug. 15	Henry Nash.....	Years. 8	Mr Richards	Body dreadfully emaciated. Was the son of a labourer, who three years before had been in great distress, and applied for parish relief. At first they gave him 1s a week and a loaf, but then they insisted that he and his whole family (eight persons) should enter the house or they would give nothing. He went away, and would not go there again.
48	Aug. 11	A child .....	.....	} R. G.'s Weekly Report. Mr Humphrich ...	From want of sufficient food.
49	Aug. 11	A widow .....	.....		From the same cause.
50	June 25	Ellen Smiles	57		A match-box maker, and got 2d for making a gross of 24 dozen lids and boxes. Her husband had died six weeks ago. The family had nothing from the parish. One witness had caused the daughter to send to the workhouse. She was told to come on Tuesday at ten o'clock, but the woman died at eight. The stomach and the intestines were empty, and she could have taken no food for a long time previous.
51	June 22	A widow	63	R. G.'s Weekly Report.	Consumption, accelerated by the want of the necessaries of life.
52	June 22	A boy	8 mos.	.....	Want of nourishment, through poverty.
53	June 2	A woman	29 yrs.	.....	Privation and exposure. She had no medical treatment.
54	May 19	.....	69 yrs.	.....	Disease of the lungs, and want of proper food.
55	.....	A charwoman	73 yrs.	.....	Bronchitis, and want of food.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

NO.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
56	1864. May 9	Mary Ann Poole.....	Years. 24	Mr Humphries ...	Had not slept in a bed for three weeks, but had passed the nights sleeping in courts and under archways.
57	May 5	Mary Taylor	30	Mr C. J. Carttar	Found destitute in the street by the police, and died a few hours afterwards. Refused to seek parish relief. Not a particle of fat about the body.
58	May 2	Elizabeth Beddall ...	73	Mr Humphries ...	Not a particle of food in the stomach or intestines; no trace of fat in the system, and the blood was like water. She said that she would rather starve than go into the house, she had such an objection to it.
59	April 21	A labourer	50	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Typhus, with destitution.
60	April 21	A watch finisher....	68	.....	Want of food.
61	April 14	Wife of a file-cutter	42	.....	Want of nourishment.
62	April 14	Razor-strop maker ...	50	.....	Want of necessaries.
63	March 31	Grace Gurney	53	Mr Payne.....	Perished through the withdrawal of parish relief. Deceased never got any animal food. There were no district visitors that visited her or her mother, who was nearly disabled, and had to go upon crutches.
64	March 30	Wife of a cabman ...	51	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Found dead. "Want of food,"
65	March 20	An oilman	79	.....	Exposure and cold.
66	March 24	A dock labourer— name, John Myers	42	Mr J. Humphries	Exposure, and want of necessaries. Had had no food from Friday till Sunday at noon, when the relief came too late.
67	March 23	A woman	22	R. G.'s Wy Report	Privation and exposure.
68	March 17	A woman	60	.....	Want of nourishment and clothing.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
	1864.		Years.		
69	March 17	A woman	46	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Want of nourishment and clothing.
70	March 4	A child	13 mos.	.....	Want of proper nutrition.
71	March 12	Ann Palmer	26	Mr Humphries ...	Hardly any blood in the body. Much emaciated. "Privation and exposure."
72	March 11	Charlotte Hampton	50	Mr J. Payne ...	Shockingly emaciated. Stomach contained no food.
73	March 10	Sarah Dove	46	Mr Humphries ...	(The Edmouton case.) Verdict: "Deceased died, pending the test employed as to her fitness for relief; that in such cases the test of the workhouse is inadequate and not properly adapted to its end. A life has thereby been sacrificed, and the jury request that the coroner forward this verdict to the Poor Law Board."
74	March 10	A girl	21 mos.	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Want of proper food and care.
75	March 10	Wife of an in-pensioner at Chelsea.	.....	.....	Apparently from want.
76	.....	George Golding ...	32	Mr J. Humphries	A labourer. Exposure and destitution. No emaciated that he had the appearance of a man 60 years of age.
77	March 2	George Willis ...	57	Mr Walthew ...	Much emaciated.
78	March 2	Naomi Norman ...	63	Mr Humphries ...	Fifteen years ago deceased had got 1s 6d a week from the parish, but the allowance had been reduced to 1s. Verdict: "Died from rupture of the heart, accelerated by want of food, warmth, and clothing."
79	Feb. 26	Ellen Carter ...	63	Mr Humphries ...	Died in a police cell. Found lying insensible on the pavement from the severity of the

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
	1864		Years.		
80	Feb. 25	A boy	12	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Want of proper food.
81	Feb. 25	A girl	12	.....	Want of food and clothing, and exposure.
82	Feb. 25	A woman	39	.....	Destitution and exposure to cold.
83	Feb. 25	A girl	1	.....	Want of proper nourishment.
84	Feb. 25	An infant .....	.....	.....	Want of proper nourishment.
85	Feb. 19	James Bridges	40	Mr J. Humphries	Through workhouse neglect.
86	Feb. 18	Ellen Page	3	Mr Walthew	Two months ago the wife applied to the Husband, wife, and five children all starving. Relieving Officer for relief, and asked him for a bit of bread. He said, "There was the Workhouse, and you can all come in."
87	Feb. 17	Widow of a coal- whipper.	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Exposure to cold."
88	Feb. 16	Lydia Taylor	39	Mr Humphries	Needlewoman and a widow. "The Coroner said that the case was one of the saddest that had ever come before him. Without discussing the policy of the Poor Law, he might say that it was much to be regretted that in such a case relief could not be asked for without fear of being obliged to enter the Workhouse. Verdict: Death from pleuro-pneumonia, the result of exposure to cold and destitution."
89	Feb. 14	Robert Walker	40	Mr Humphries	Found lying apparently dead in a corner of a stable, without even a bit of straw under him. Died on the way to the Workhouse.
90	Feb. 13	Samuel Davis	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Found lying insensible. Taken to the White- chapel Union, where he died.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
91	1864 Feb. 11	Wife of a lighterman	Years.	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Death hastened by want of sufficient bed-clothing.
92	.....	Infant son	.....	.....	From the absence of sufficient breast-milk, through poverty.
93	.....	Infant daughter	.....	.....	* "Accelerated by want."
94	.....	Widow of a weaver	.....	.....	Found dead; privation.
95	Feb. 4	Honoria Lyons	26	Mr Waltheow	Found dying in the street, and almost naked.
96	Jan. 30	"A man"	40	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Destitution, accelerated by previous illness."
97	Jan. —	"A servant"	60	.....	"Typhus, caused by destitution."
98	.....	Wife of a shoemaker	77	.....	"Want of the proper necessities of life."
99	Jan. 23	Mary Clarke	65	Mr Waltheow	A poor needlewoman. Had no bed; the clothes to cover her at night were lent her. "Want and exposure."
100	Jan. 22	William Allen	65	.....	Died the following morning, after being taken into St. Luke's. He had to walk about the streets till inquiries were made.
101	.....	Hugh Irving	40	.....	"Want, accelerated by previous illness." Had applied to the Workhouse for admission, but refused. Excuse pleaded, "No entry on books."
102	Jan. 20	A shoemaker	60	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Exhaustion from exposure to cold."
103	.....	A boot-closer	25	.....	"Want of nourishment, and cold."

* N.B.—About this period appeared the following remarks in the *Daily Telegraph* (August 7th, 1862), on "The Poor in the Paris":—"The very dogs have their kennels, and even their 'asylum for the nameless' near Issington. Only these forlorn brothers and sisters of our own lie on bare boards, or on wet turf, in silent appeal to a higher power, in mute accusation and unspoken reproach of something that is yet amiss in our social system. Whose the fault, it is not now our business to inquire. Our duty has only been to record the fact that a hundred and fifty miserable creatures, or more, lie unsheltered every night in one single park. That the other parks present similar scenes, night by night, there is no shadow of doubt. Is this fact worth attention!"

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
104	1864 Jan. 19	Mary Barrett	Years. 74	Mr Walthew	<i>Had lived by begging nightly.</i> Died on a door-step.
105	Jan. 16	Mary Eliz. Overree	64	Mr Humphreys	Sempstress earning <i>not</i> 1s per week. Had applied to the Workhouse for relief, but refused. Cause of death "privations."
106	Jan. 13	— Gatty	89	Mr Payne	A seller of staylases, found dead in her chair. "Excessive cold and want of food."
107	1863 Dec. 17	"A man" .....	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Exhaustion from want of sustenance. Died while being conveyed to Guy's Hospital.
108	Dec. 1	James M'Crace	47	Mr Raffles	Exposure and want of food. Said he would rather die in the street than go to St. Luke's Workhouse.
109	Nov.	"A man" .....	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Destitution and exposure in the streets."
110	Nov. 21	Henry Lerry	60	Mr Humphreys	"He was in a dreadful state. There was no flesh on him. When his shoes were taken off the skin peeled off with them. The <i>post-mortem</i> examination showed that there was no fat in the body, and that the stomach was empty."
111	Nov. 15	John Perry, a coal-whipper	50	Mr Walthew	"Exposure and want."
112	Nov. 4	Benjamin Menzie	49	Mr Humphreys	According to the evidence of the son, "a diminutive lad," deceased had been refused admission to the Shoreditch Workhouse.
113	Nov. 2	Josiah Brewer	12	Mr Walthew	"Want of food."
114	Nov. 4	"A child" .....	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Want of sufficient nourishment."
115	.....	Wife of a salesman	42	.....	"Want of food and proper attendance."

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
91	1864 Feb. 11	Wife of a lighterman	Years.	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Death hastened by want of sufficient bed-clothing.
92	.....	Infant son	.....	.....	From the absence of sufficient breast-milk, through poverty.
93	.....	Infant daughter	.....	.....	* "Accelerated by want."
94	Feb. 4	Widow of a weaver	.....	.....	Found dead; privation.
95	Jan. 30	Honoria Lyons	26	Mr Waltheu	Found dying in the street, and almost naked.
96	Jan. —	"A man"	40	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Destitution, accelerated by previous illness."
97	.....	"A servant"	60	.....	"Typhus, caused by destitution."
98	.....	Wife of a shoemaker	77	.....	"Want of the proper necessities of life."
99	Jan. 23	Mary Clarke	65	Mr Waltheu	A poor needlewoman. Had no bed; the clothes to cover her at night were lent her. "Want and exposure."
100	Jan. 22	William Allen	65	.....	Died the following morning, after being taken into St. Luke's. He had to walk about the streets till inquiries were made.
101	.....	Hugh Irving	40	.....	"Want, accelerated by previous illness." Had applied to the Workhouse for admission, but refused. Excuse pleaded, "No entry on books."
102	Jan. 20	A shoemaker	60	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Exhaustion from exposure to cold."
103	.....	A boot-closer	25	.....	Want of nourishment, and cold.

* N.B.—About this period appeared the following remarks in the *Daily Telegraph* (August 7th, 1862), on "The Poor in the Parks":—"The very dogs have their kennels, and even their 'asylum for the nameless' near Islington. Only these forlorn brothers and sisters of our own lie on bare boards, or on wet turf, in silent appeal to a higher power, in mute accusation and unspoken reproach of something that is yet amiss in our social system. Whose the fault, it is not now our business to inquire. Our duty has only been to record the fact that a hundred and fifty miserable creatures, or more, lie unbelieved every night in one single park. That the other parks present similar scenes, night by night, there is no shadow of doubt. Is this fact worth attention!"

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
104	1864 Jan. 19	Mary Barrett	Years. 74	Mr Walthew	<i>Had lived by begging nightly.</i> Died on a door-step.
105	Jan. 16	Mary Eliz Overree	64	Mr Humphreys	Sempstress earning <i>not</i> 1s per week. Had applied to the Workhouse for relief, but refused. Cause of death "privations."
106	Jan. 13	— Gatty	89	Mr Payne	A seller of staylases, found dead in her chair. "Excessive cold and want of food."
107	1863 Dec. 17	"A man"	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Exhaustion from want of sustenance. Died while being conveyed to Guy's Hospital
108	Dec. 1	James McCrass	47	Mr Raffles	Exposure and want of food. Said he would rather die in the street than go to St. Luke's Workhouse.
109	Nov.	"A man"	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Destitution and exposure in the streets."
110	Nov. 21	Henry Lerry	60	Mr Humphreys	"He was in a dreadful state. There was no flesh on him. When his shoes were taken off the skin peeled off with them. The <i>post-mortem</i> examination showed that there was no fat in the body, and that the stomach was empty."
111	Nov. 15	John Perry, a coal-whipper	50	Mr Walthew	"Exposure and want."
112	Nov. 4	Benjamin Menzie	49	Mr Humphreys	According to the evidence of the son, "a diminutive lad," deceased had been refused admission to the Shoreditch Workhouse.
113	Nov. 2	Josiah Brewer	12	Mr Walthew	"Want of food."
114	Nov. 4	"A child"	.....	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Want of sufficient nourishment."
115	.....	Wife of a salesman	42	.....	"Want of food and proper attendance."

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
116	1863 Nov. 3	Amelia J. Ware	Years. 12	Inquest	<i>Post-mortem</i> : Wasted and emaciated from insufficient nourishment.
117	Oct. 27	Caroline James	42	Mr Humphreys	Verdict: "Death from consumption, accelerated by want of food; and the jury find that great censure is due to the Relieving Officer of Bethnal Green."
118	Oct. 11	Louisa Parker	18 days	Mr Walthew	Parents silkweavers. Verdict: "Death from exhaustion from want of food."
119	Sep. 30	"A labourer"		R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Want of the common necessities of life."
120		"A cooper"*			Want of proper and sufficient nourishment.

* This poor "cooper" is probably George Marshall, aged 51 years, whose "shocking death from starvation" was reported in *The Times* of 22nd September. The report is as follows:—"Ann Marshall, 7, St. John Street, widow of the deceased, said he had been ailing for two years, in consequence of having been run over, and was unable to work for that time. She had had to support him and herself as best she could. She used to sell three and four pennyworth a day, and half of that sum was profit. When she got more she bought a second meal, but otherwise she had to live on a bit of dry bread. He used to crave for two ounces of meat, but she could not let him have it. She had, two years ago, applied to the Workhouse authorities for relief, but they could only take him into the house; and as her husband would not go in, for he had a horror of it, they would give nothing. She paid 1s 6d a week rent. There was nothing in the room but the bedstead on which the deceased was lying. The room was so small that the bedstead almost filled it. No application for relief had been made for two years. A juror remarked that the witness was as great a skeleton as her husband. She appeared as if she was at that moment dying of starvation. Dr. Wm. Grayton said that he was called to deceased on Tuesday last, and found him in a state of extreme exhaustion and emaciation. He advised that he should be removed to the Workhouse, but he refused to go. He died from disease, accelerated by the want of proper and sufficient food. Several of the Jury said that it was a great disgrace to the Workhouse people to see the widow in a dying state from hunger, and not to give her immediate relief. There could be no saving to the rates in taking persons into their house who could partially support themselves out of it. The Jury returned a verdict in accordance with the medical testimony, censuring the conduct of the parish authorities. A subscription was raised in court for the poor woman."

† When parishes discover that antipathy to "the House" is entertained, then the poor starving applicant for relief is offered admission. In many cases, however, when admission is applied for by the pauper, it is refused on the most trivial grounds. The writer, while carrying on his open-air preaching about this time, became acquainted with an instance of this character. George Pearce, an old man, of 7, Red Lion Market, Upper Whitecross Street, applied at St. Luke's for admission, having requested an order for himself and wife. The latter only was admitted. He stated:—"I begged to go in." This was met with "Go along; we don't want anything to do with you." Thus the House is used in *terrorem*, according to circumstances. If the wretched asylum is chained by the distressed applicant, his claim is frequently graded; and it is seldom proffered to the distressed applicant, for outdoor relief, if there is a probability of the offer being accepted. The simple aim of Guardians is to "save the rates."

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
121	1863 Sep. 12	John Parry	71 Years.		Found insensible. Discovered to be "in a most deplorable condition." Taken to St. Martin's Workhouse, and died there.
122	Aug. 26	Mary Bulsham	75	Mr Humphreys	"Body much emaciated and room poverty-stricken."
123	July 8	Mary Ann Kenny	30	Mr Walthew	"No trace of food in the stomach, and could not have had any for a length of time."
124	June 30	Man unknown	50 about	Mr Walthew	"He was so emaciated that his ribs and blade-bones appeared to be literally starting through his skin."
125	June 23	Eliza Brooks		Mr Humphries	Body much emaciated; no food in the stomach.
126	June 17	A child		R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Bronchitis, accelerated by privation."
127	June 8	George Crudgerton	68	Mr Walthew	Deceased was a coal-whipper, and having been for some time out of employ, had become debilitated from consequent hardships. Fell down dead while at work.
128		Robert Clark	48		Had suffered great privation through want of employment. Removed in the "cob" to Whitechapel Union, and died the same afternoon.
129	May 21	Elizabeth Taplin	68	Mr Walthew	"Died from exhaustion through the want of the common necessities of life, accelerated by a diseased leg.—N.B.—Deceased had 1s and a quarter loaf from the parish (Shoreditch). She paid 1s 9d for rent, and subsisted on 1s.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

NO.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
	1863.		Years.		
130	.....	Emma A. Fitchett and her infant male child	.....	.....	Both perished through "unskilful treatment," medical gentlemen refusing to attend the destitute woman "in want of sufficient nourishing food," and "unable to pay the fees in advance."
131	May 5	Edward Bailey	24	Mr Walthew	Had been sleeping in the streets for five weeks. There was no sign of food about the place—not a scrap of any kind. Verdict: "Death from epilepsy, caused from want of food."
132	.....	— Hockley	35	.....	No food or firing. Death ascribed by medical gentlemen to neglect and starvation.
133	.....	Joseph Hayes	4 wks.	.....	Father of the deceased died about three weeks ago, and an inquest was held upon the body, when the jury returned a verdict of "Death from starvation and fever."
134	April 22	Widow of a bricklayer	78	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Exhaustion from want of the common necessities of life."
135	.....	John Hayes	43	.....	Into this most miserable abode another child was born (see last case but one), and the father lay down beside his wife with wandering brain and craving stomach." (<i>Star.</i>)
136	.....	Sarah Moore	.....	.....	"The horrors of the picture are heightened by a charge of inhumanity against the officials." (<i>Star.</i>)
137	.....	Charlotte Nicholls	70	.....	Found dead in a cellar. "Had been receiving parochial relief; but it was wholly insufficient for her wants." (<i>Press.</i>)

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
138	1863	An infant child	Years.		Found dead by the mother. The place in a wretched state of destitution, there being no fire, food, or any other article of furniture in the apartment.
139		Sarah Jarvis	67		A poor starved needlewoman, who made shirts at 13d each. "After some remarks among the jurors, on the singularity that the poor should entertain the idea so generally that the food given in the Workhouse was insufficient, they returned a verdict in accordance with the medical evidence, and requested the Coroner to write to the Board of Guardians to call their attention to the fact that the allowance to the unfortunate deceased and her daughter was altogether inadequate to their wants."
140	March 16	Ellen Smithers	5	Mr Walthew	"There was no food nor any kind of firing or furniture in the apartment. The body was in a complete state of nudity. Mr C. Wragg, M.R.C.S., of St. Luke's, said the body was perfectly naked, and in an extreme state of emaciation. The whole family were in a famishing condition from extreme destitution, without any comfort. He was of opinion that the deceased died from starvation and the want of the common necessities of life." John Smithers, of

(Continued on next page.)

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
140	1863		Years.		<p>No. 26, President Street, St. Luke's, stated that he was an infant's shoemaker, and with his family lived in one room, for which he paid 3s per week. He was only able to earn 1s 6d per day when in health, but latterly he could not work. He had been compelled to dispose of his furniture and other articles for food for his family, who had suffered great privations, being without animal food for weeks together. They sometimes had dry bread and a little tea. He had some assistance "from the Work-house once when he received a loaf and a shilling from the Relieving Officer, who sent word that he must go into the stone-yard to work, but he was unable to do so from ill-health. On Wednesday morning last, deceased was found dead upon the remnants of an old bed in the corner of the room. He believed that deceased had died from want and starvation. He was not able to get his family food, and he had a reluctance to apply for relief."</p>
141	March 4	A labourer	66	R. G.'s Wy. Report	<p>"Found dead in a van in George Street, White-chapel, from disease of the lungs, accelerated by want of food and other necessaries."</p>

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
142	1863 Feb. 18	Abraham Curry ...	Years. 18	Mr Humphries ...	The parish surgeon stated that the stomach and intestines were perfectly empty, and the body was much emaciated from want and destitution. The clothing was ragged, his person almost naked.—N.B.—This young man thus perished of starvation while in the employ of Messrs Price and Co., of Millwall, and receiving 7s 6d per week. Not the slightest charge of intemperance was alleged. "The Coroner said it was to be regretted that deceased had not applied to the parish authorities for assistance. The small pittance he had received lately was not sufficient to keep body and soul together."*
143	Feb. 12	Charles Whitwell ...	48	Mr Walthew	"Unable to obtain employment, he had fallen into a condition of absolute starvation, and had wandered about the streets without shelter. Within the last four months he had only been once traced to a lodging-house."
144	Feb. 11	A woman	56	R. G.'s Wy. Report	"Found dead in bed from destitution."

* Now, we simply ask, Is there a parish, we will not say within the bills of mortality, but within the three Kingdoms, that would entertain for a moment this young man's application for relief? However, the nation has need enough to have laid such flatter-
ing
pan
puff

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
145	1863 Jan. 24.	A Woman unknown	Years. 55	Mr Humphries	Found in a destitute condition. Observed by a policeman, who supposing her to be drunk, left her. Taken, after the lapse of two hours, to the Workhouse, and discovered to be dead. Verdict: That the deceased, who was unknown, was found dying, and afterwards did die, in the public highway from exposure to the cold and starvation; and the Jurors do further say that the deceased had been left unheeded by the police-constable.—N.B.—Both Doctor and Nurse attested that there was no smell of drink on the deceased.
146	1862 Dec. 19	Sarah Toome	82	Inquest	Want of sufficient nourishment.
147	Nov. 24	Man unknown	33	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Cold, and want of food. Had been found in the Smithfield pens.
148	Nov. 17	Widow of a tailor	43	.....	Exhaustion from starvation.
149	Nov. 14	Son of a weaver	3 mos.	.....	Destitution; the mother not having milk for the child, from want of food.
150	Nov. 29	A poor old woman	.....	Mr Raffles	Want, and exposure to the cold. A severe cure was expressed by the jury upon the neglect of the parochial medical officer, who failed to attend to the deceased, although she had an order for his attendance; and he was called for.
151	Nov. 26	A man	72	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Probably want of sufficient nourishment.
152	Sept. 24	A female	69	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Want of proper nourishment and warmth. Was destitute of bedding for a long time.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION—CONTINUED.

No.	DATE.	NAME.	AGE.	CORONER.	FACTS IN EVIDENCE.
153	1862 Sept. 9	E. Wilmot, alias Lloyd	Years. 49	Mr R. Walthew	Exhaustion, consequent on disease and want of proper nourishment.—The Coroner said that cases of this afflicting character were becoming painfully numerous.
154	Sept. 7	Mrs C. Crippin	40	Mr Walthew	Witness found deceased and two children lying on a mattress with no bed clothes to cover them, and they were all in the last stage of starvation. The mother was gasping, and apparently nothing but skin and bone.
155	Sept. 4	A seaman	52	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Starvation; dysentery.
156	Aug. 30	Matilda Martin	65	Dr. Lankester	A widow. Want and exposure.
157	Aug. 15	Timothy Driscoll	63	Mr J. Humphries	John Driscoll said that deceased had often complained to him of being without food, but witness could not assist him, as he was frequently in the same state himself, and had often to whip coals upon only a drink of water. Deceased would never apply to the parish for relief, preferring to go without food all day. The Coroner said that the case was a most painful one, and the jury returned a verdict of "Death from exhaustion from a hard day's work and want of food."
158	July 30	Widow of a wine-cooper	58	R. G.'s Wy. Report	Want of nourishment and cleanliness.
159	.....	Wife of a seaman	41	.....	Want of common necessities.

N.B.—The Coroner's Inquest is an institution for which England should feel grateful to the wisdom of an age which she is too ready to depreciate. Dr. Hardwicke's efforts for maintaining the benefits of it to all classes alike, "without respect of persons," instead of being condemned should be commended; whilst his fearless, outspoken observations on the cruelties of the Poor-law system, for which occasions are continually presenting themselves, are above all praise. The author lived eight years in Scotland, where the instituting of an inquiry into the causes of sudden deaths by means of a jury, assisted by the representative of the Executive Government, is unknown. The Procurator Fiscal may indeed be applied to; and, if that officer should deem it expedient, he may order a *post-mortem* examination. This, however, is of rare occurrence. In the sixth decade of the present century an awfully sudden death occurred not very far from Edinburgh, about which quite a "*fama*" prevailed at the time. It was that of a wealthy individual, residing with his family at their country residence. On the Saturday he visited the capital, and returned home in the evening with a friend—a medical gentleman—in his usual state of health. In the dead of the night he was taken ill, and attended to by some members of his family, but before the morning light had returned, and before any servant had entered the sick room, he died. The writer does not remember whether the professional visitor were called up or not; but what he does remember, and will indeed never forget, is, that when strange rumours were afloat, and it was well known even the brother of the deceased desired an investigation into the cause of death, a still nearer relative of the suddenly departed one stated in the presence of the writer that she was sure the then Procurator-Fiscal would not order an inquiry into the cause of death to be instituted, *because he was a friend of the family*. Moreover, this painful event took place on the dawn of "the Sabbath," that awful day in many parts of Scotland, on which few persons are so daring as to appear outside their houses, except on their way to and from the kirk. Of course, when the second day of the week arrived, speedy preparations were to be made for the funeral. But it is more to our present purpose to refer to Coroners' Courts as bearing on the subject of death from starvation. How singular is the fact that as soon as you cross the Tweed, at Berwick, you hear no more of such cases (we had almost said *appalling*, but we can only now in truth say which *ought to be appalling*). Is it then that no deaths from destitution occur in North Britain? Those who have read the published accounts of the Wynds and Closes of Glasgow and Edinburgh, written by Scotchmen themselves, will find it different to arrive at such a conclusion. To shew what intense suffering from want is permitted to exist by the pious people of the latter, we venture to quote from a *brochure* of ours, entitled:—"A few more words on the Introduction of the Italian Opera into Edinburgh; or 'Robert the Devil,' &c., *versus* Lazarus," by "Clericus," M.A.

"On one occasion, his professional duty leads him to go in search of a poor woman, whose poverty was such that she had cut off the hair of her head, to turn into money for bread. While seeking after this person, he is directed, by mistake, to another bearing the same name. On conversing with the latter, the mistake is discovered; but the woman, who appeared from her dress to be in the most abject poverty, was very loath to allow the visitor at her door, whom accident had thus brought into proximity with her wretchedness, to depart. Supposing him to be a clergyman, she said that her husband was laid up very ill; 'would not the minister see him?' When assured that the sick man had not been visited by any brother clergy-
 of course the invited one could not find it in him to resist such an

appeal. Accordingly he entered, following his guide to the afflicted man across almost bare rafters, which seemed in some parts scarce safe to tread upon. The room was reached; but who shall describe the scene which presented itself? 'There lies my poor husband?' Yes, kind reader, there he did lie, racked with rheumatism, almost upon the bare ground, with just a threadbare coverlet over his *absolutely bare person*, for not a thread was upon him in the shape of a shirt. But the tale is not yet told. On turning himself, the clergyman discovers that, although it was mid-winter, not a spark of fire was to be seen in the room, or a particle of fuel to make one. But there is yet a corner of the room on which his eye has not yet alighted. To complete the picture of wretchedness, here is crouched in some indescribable manner—for not a chair or stool was to be seen—a poor cripple, whose age it would be difficult to divine, as he appeared the very type and embodiment of that cruel neglect of the poor and wretched, which has marked the last quarter of a century. Better off than his miserable father in one respect, he had indeed a shirt on his back. This was but too visible, for he had no jacket. What a sight! father, mother, child, all! But why did they not go into the workhouse or union? Because, reader, they had been there two or three years before, and the treatment was so trying to flesh and blood, that all these extremities were being endured, in preference to the obtaining relief on such distasteful conditions. And here we get at the gist of the whole matter touching this excessive destitution, co-existent as it is with the provision of a poor-law. If you will persist in treating the unfortunate and afflicted among the poor—for such there are in the lowest as well as in all ascending grades—worse than brutes; if you will persist in the aim of making them feel their poverty a degradation and a punishment, shutting them up in bastilles, and assigning them a dietary inferior to that of the felon;—who can wonder if they refuse your proffered assistance, and pine in want and wretchedness, rather than take your stinted allowance of the coarsest food, in exchange for the last particle of self-respect, and for the sacrifice at once of the relative affections, rudely set at naught as they are by the strictest separation, and of personal liberty, by imprisonment in these bastilles? * But you reply, the poor's-rates are quite enough at present. True; besides, you must dress and go to the Opera. It is not the world, however, the world in general, with whom the writer has to do in this matter, but with those who call themselves the friends of religion."

* The *vezata questio* touching the extent of out-door parochial assistance, might soon be properly adjusted, were it not for the covetousness of those who begrudge the poor that which is their due. It is admitted that the destitute have a claim to assistance. The question, therefore, is simply one of amount, the principles being agreed upon. Why then, we ask, should not the help afforded be duly proportioned to the exigencies of the need? Why must a poor aged widow, applying to the parish for assistance, be forced to starve out the remainder of her days upon *one* shilling per week, when it is well known by those who dole out these pittance, that *two* would barely support her? This second shilling must, of course, be raised by street begging—that standing opprobrium of our country with its "enormous wealth,"—or by something worse. Some of these poor widows, whose "length of days" it is difficult to conceive a blessing, it would appear get eightpence a week from the parish, or rather ninepence, as it is just now seen from the newspapers, that chairmen of parochial boards can stop the payment to the paupers of the remaining ninepence, to pay themselves for rent—rent of dwellings *underground*, which keepers of packs of hounds would disdain to use as kennels. *Sacra James auri!* To what wilt thou not urge the Crassi amongst so-called Christians? *Guardians* of the poor indeed! Who does not perceive that what they *guard* is the golden apples for themselves? Siller, Siller! that's the cry—the demand for which, paradoxical as it may appear, is always increased by the supply, and, alas!—

Διὰ τοῦτον οὐκ ἀδελφός,

Διὰ τοῦτον, ὁ πονηρός.

=

Through this there is no brother;

Through this each hates the other.

APPENDIX I.

THE ALDERMAN, THE STREET PREACHER,
AND THE POOR :

A LETTER TO ALD. SIR R. C . . . , KNIGHT.


BY CLERICUS, M.A.

ἡ που σοφὸς ἦν δοτὶς ἔφασκεν, πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσῃς,
οὐκ ἂν δικάσαις.

Wasps of Aristophanes.

“ ’Twas a man of invention,
Wise and upright intention,
Who first dared to mention
In a case of dissension.
Never dare to decide
’Till you’ve heard either side.”

Mitchell’s “Aristophanes”

 The letter which follows in this Appendix was ready for publication, as will be seen from the date at the end, about a month after the events to which it refers. The author's removal from London into the country prevented its appearance. His subsequent residence on the Continent forced him to conclude that his usefulness as a clergyman was greatly hindered, if not absolutely nullified, by the unjust misrepresentations which are refuted in the letter (see Preface). Were this address to be now re-written, many modifications would be made in it ; but it may be better for a discerning public to see what were the impressions of the writer *on the occasion of his being so injuriously malignèd.*

SIR ROBERT,

Your application at the Marlborough-street Police-office for magisterial interference with a clerical street preacher is of a character so unique that it is worthy of a record less ephemeral than that which journalism affords. That such a chivalric zeal for sound doctrine should have been displayed in a manner so remarkable by an aldermanic knight—when, alas, knights of the garter exhibit no such godly fervour—is surely cause for mutual congratulation among the friends of truth. Nay, it is not that you aspire merely to eclipse the deeds of contemporary knighthood, you have doubtless resolved to break a lance with the ghost of Sir Hudibras himself in your concern for the interests of religion. And, oh, that the renowned knight of D ward had but another Butler to sing his exploits to the world ! or it may be, Sir Robert, that you would rather trust your doughty fame to the unmeasured effusions of a second Cervantes. Be this as it may, it is impossible that your deeds of valour should remain unregistered, or at all events abandoned to unseemly neglect. Hence, in some degree, this humble attempt to make more extensively known your valiant performances ; that your fame, if possible, may be co-extensive with the civilised world. But, first, in this epistle dedicatory let us inquire what is authentic in the matter of the alleged prowess that you, an aldermanic knight, exhibited before the magisterial presence in the Police-court. Authentic, I say, for perverted police reports are, alas, all too common. I myself, Sir Robert, have been wickedly misrepresented by reporters in these courts. From a letter of mine to the *Standard* newspaper, not many months since, it might be seen that when the reporter of the Bow-street Police-office had duly spiced up his report of a case, in which a veracious police-constable bore a prominent part, there were found in the evidence and the report, taken together, “as many lies as lines.” Let me not therefore charge you with all and everything that has been ascribed to you. But, having taken the trouble to go myself to the court in which you so courageously charged me in my absence, I have ascertained enough for the present purpose. The magistrate before whom it was uttered admitted, so far, the correctness of the report, that it was, at all events, made *by you*. “He made it a rule to abuse the rich, and he frequently pointed to Trinity Church and called out, ‘There’s a church full of aristocrats.’”

Now, before proceeding further, let me inform you, Sir Robert, that I went expressly to this court to give a distinct denial to this statement of yours. And on both occasions not fewer than five persons accompanied me, who were ready on oath to refute this calumny. As to the word “aristocrats,” it has *never* been employed by me in this street-preaching, and scarcely ever on any other occasion. Then, Sir Robert, permit me to ask how any reasonable man, ever so lightly acquainted with language, could apply the

word in question to the "people" assembling in Trinity Church, Marylebone. Not many aldermanic knights are found there; but were they one and all belted ex-lord-mayors, who would think of designating them "aristocrats?" In this you must certainly be labouring under some mistake; because some stump orators apply this word to the *wealthier* classes, you seem to conclude it must also be thus employed by friends of the poor. The aristocracy of England, Sir Robert, are not "spectacle-makers," however wealthy. True, "the blood of all the Howard's" is but human; still little of it flows through the city wards; *your* concern for "aristocrats," therefore is amusing. But let us proceed with your alarming deposition at this memorable appearance of yours before the Marlborough-street Police magistrate,—"He made it a rule to abuse the rich, and he frequently, &c." Now, it is apparent that you could not have expressed yourself thus, unless you "*had made it a rule*" to attend my "homilies," as the *Saturday Review* has designated my addresses, and had "frequently" been found among the "people," as you asserted I called my hearers. But permit me to be a little inquisitive here. Are these things so? Were you really a constant worshipper and hearer in these *sub jove frigido* gatherings?

If so, you have on your own confession "frequently" contributed to that inconvenience to the public from "obstruction," touching which with such admirable modesty, you shewed yourself so querulous. Why, Sir Robert, this savours somewhat of turning Queen's evidence. To be a receiver, and then to 'peach! *Proh pudor!* But you only feigned yourself one of "the people" as a detective. Well, take the consolation of this alternative. But to listen with frequency, even to a street preacher to catch something out of his mouth for an accusation against him, is perhaps a singular habit, even for an alderman.

It is a mistake, however, to conceive that "every fine Sunday morning" we had our fortuitous gatherings *en plein vent* graced and enlivened by one who has passed the civic chair, and conceives himself to be an "aristocrat." On one occasion, it is remembered, a gentleman apparently ill at ease, just when the cause of the suffering and deserving poor was referred to by the preacher, moved about from side to side of the crowd, as if somehow in an uncongenial element, and was at length observed to address himself first to one policeman and then to another. It was then, perhaps, that your knightship was so cavalierly treated by the "Blues," that when running a tilt with the preacher before the magistrate you were resolved to give a side thrust at these Gallo-like peace-officers. But being, in fact, so seldom with us, as your discomforture when there fairly leads us to infer, how comes it to pass that you based your allegations upon that which was untrue? If you tell us, in reply, you were informed by others as to what you asserted, I beg to remind you that your own magisterial experience as Lord

Mayor should have preserved you from the error of alleging as facts ascertained by your own personal knowledge, what after all was mere hearsay. And, Sir Robert, had the accused been permitted to confront you when you dared to allege that "he frequently pointed to Trinity Church and called out, 'There's a church full of aristocrats,'" he would have made you confess with your own mouth that you yourself, at all events, had never heard such words, or any like them, uttered by the preacher.

"To abuse the rich," you say, is my "rule." I "abuse" none,—neither rich nor poor, in the aldermanic sense of the word. The precepts, "Love as brethren; be pitiful, be courteous," have too much attraction in them to permit me to be abusive to any; while the cognate one, "Condescend to men of low estate," will keep me, I trust, from despising even the poorest. But, Sir Robert, as to "abuse" in the proper sense of the word, it is the poor, not the rich, that are abused. They are abused to the letter, when they cannot obtain a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, and our great capitalists become millionaires in consequence. The fraudulent withholding of adequate pay for labour the New Testament, as well as the Old, denounces. Then, further, the rich still more abuse the poor, when the latter, after toiling and moiling, without at any time obtaining thereby that sustenance which is needful for the body, are compelled at last when their strength faileth them to have recourse to "the tender mercies," as the Earl of Shaftesbury has it, "of the Union Workhouse." The rich "abuse" the poor, if it be true, as is asserted, that 30,000 children are found in London utterly unprovided for, both as it regards body and soul. Here is abuse, indeed! I want you to look through my spectacles for a moment, Sir Robert, at this ugly fact. Tens of thousands of young immortals left to "pass the waves of this troublesome world"—aye, "troublesome," indeed, to all of us with all our "good things" and whatever our advantages—as best they may, to sink or swim, from the very commencement of their perilous voyage! Why that any of these thousands should grow up to manhood and womanhood without becoming "gaol-birds" seems almost miraculous. And yet with merciful and Christian institutions what numbers of them, instead of preying on society as now, might become a credit to their country. Think of the words, Sir Robert; they are not mere fustian and bombast:—"What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! inform and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a God!" Yes, thus capable of all that is great and lovely, and of good report has our merciful Creator made us all; but, alas, "the greatest enemy of mankind is man," and so, as the boy is the father of the man, and the girl the mother of the woman, where from among these neglected thousands we might have had honest hard

working virtuous men and women, we have now on the contrary thieves and prostitutes. By our covetousness and niggardliness we have "sown the wind and we reap the whirlwind." Here is "abuse" indeed! a good soil so neglected and perverted as to produce more dangerous crops than the dragon's teeth of ancient story.

Some men, Sir Robert, allow themselves to be "abused," or, to put the verb in the reflexive form, "abuse themselves." Saul, whose covetousness tempted him to disobey the Divine command, was a person of this class. Hence his self-flagellation, making himself a very *Heautontimoroumenos*. Charity would fain lead us to hope that no such self-torture drove you to the police court. Did the mysterious "man in the gown," whose habitat according to a writer in *The Times* was once not far from the Athenæum Club, reappearing now near Portland Place in "full canonicals," as you reverently expressed it, disturb and "abuse" your imagination! Were you led for a moment to associate him with the members of the black art?

"The spirit that I have seen
May be a devil, and the devil hath power
To assume a (holy) shape; yea, and, perhaps,
(As he is very potent with such spirits)
Abuses me to damn me."

Then, too, there is the self-abuse of an Ahab exclaiming, "Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?"

You seemed to be almost at a loss to know how to characterise my simple expositions of the "good word of God," to the "people" scattered and peeled like sheep without a shepherd. After, no doubt, long and painful deliberation on the matter, your delivery touching this to you knotty point is remarkable for its originality. "He preaches very far from the doctrines of peace," was the piteous complaint poured into the very patient magisterial ear by the ex-magistrate, and sometime occupant of the Mansion House. But as if there remained still a picture too shadowy and indistinct of the street preacher's delinquencies, it must receive yet another touch from the limner's hand. "He appears to be almost a chartist." *Montes parturiunt*," and even now not so much as the "*ridiculus mus*" to arise; for the terrible delinquent so offensive to an Alderman is but a *quasi* chartist after all! But *jocis positis*, Sir Robert, how could you experience any difficulty in a matter so simple? Why a street preacher's success depends wholly upon the clearness of his views and the unmistakeableness of his utterances, together with directions as to practice so plain that "the way-faring man, though a fool, shall not err therein." Mark the command, "Write the vision, and make it plain, that he may run that readeth it." One might have thought prior to experience, and but for these unique revelations in the police court, that the street preacher who was ever showing that the Word from on High to *all classes*, save the sufferers themselves, in *England at this present* might be summed up in the brief sentence, "Break

off thy sins by righteousness and by showing mercy to the poor"—it might have been concluded—I say, Sir Robert, and I say it without offence—that these open-air utterances were so scriptural and so self-luminous that even "an Alderman might understand them," as the late Sir William Napier in reported to have said once of "expositions" on a very different subject. But a word here in all seriousness. Can it be the abundance of "good things" that the Aldermen of London are generally supposed to have such a "gusto" for, that renders "the sincere milk of the word," by which the Lazaruses at their gates are for a while sustained, so unpalatable? Can it be "the faring sumptuously every day" that induces an antipathy to those preachers who plead for those who never dine at all? Is it possible that the being "clothed in purple and fine linen," instead of inducing its wearer to "cover the naked," only leads him to "hide himself from his own flesh," lying helpless before him in rags and wretchedness? Can it be that Aldermen, their outer-man so richly adorned, their inner-man so well "lined" with turbot and venison, all pleasantly digested with liberal draughts of *Amontillado*, expect that the famishing multitude can exist upon the bare imagination of such feasts? Are these the persons of all others that are ready to identify themselves with those clever Christians of old, who said to the cold and hungry, "Be ye warmed and filled," but who niggardly withhold the things so necessary to the body in this our northern clime—fuel and food? But methinks I hear you say, "*Ohe, jam satis!*" Yes, *satis superque*. Let *μηδὲν ἄγαν* be the motto. Besides one might be apprehensive under the circumstances of proceeding in this direction, "*usque ad nauseam*." "*Est modus in rebus*."

Your hot haste in entering the lists, not against street-preaching in general, but against one who by his pleading for the poor had come between the wind and your nobility, has rendered your name and titles not merely increasingly famous at home, but also renowned abroad. The remarks, no doubt a little caustic, of the English press, both metropolitan and provincial, have been re-echoed and amplified by foreign journals. For the French, read *L'International*; and for the German, that which is designated *Hermann*.

It is true, the magistrate that was so courteous to you and worse than rude to me, largely shares the credit of the enterprise; only incidentally so, however. *Le premier pas*, so all-important in an attack, was yours. Let no man rob you of your honour. The *Globe*, the *Star*, and the *Weekly Despatch*, as well as other newspapers, have literally sounded forth the name of C, whilst, discarding ambiguity, and reminding the world of your former honours as a quasi *Ædile*, doing deadly battle with street nuisances to the terror of poor orange-women, they now regard your philanthropy as having taken a peculiar turn. The Anglian stable of foul abodes for the

poor, so rife with deadly fever for the helpless masses, arouses not your sympathies. All would-be-Hercules as you seem, you desire a wider field for the display of your heroism. The objects of your charitable concern are manifestly not the street-preacher's "people," or any beneath them in the social scale, but "aristocrats" merely. It is for these you will do battle; for these display your prowess. No sight or sound in the streets as they walk from their churches to their mansions shall offend them. Above all, let them not be disturbed by any outdoor preaching, which though it be not absolutely different from that which they have just heard within-doors, may not be so peace-inspiring and reassuring. How trying to the nerves of the delicate after the soothing strains of Pastor Pliable to be shocked by the outcry of a Boanerges. Brimstone and treacle in due proportions and well mixed may be endurable; but who is ready for the brimstone after taking in nothing but treacle? Your sympathy then, Sir Robert, has been awakened for such as have been listening to what you call "the doctrines of peace." Their consciences, if a little disturbed by the press during the week in doing the work of the pulpit by calling, nay, almost imploring, the attention of "the rich" to the awful "cry of the poor," now that "the Sabbath" has come round again, have been calmed and quieted by orthodoxy of the highest stamp—yes, by the orthodoxy of "eternal punishment," which we know was threatened to the rich for their neglect of the poor by the lips of Christ Himself; but which the preachers of "the doctrines of peace" would lead their hearers to believe is only for "persons of the baser sort," and by no means for orderly, respectable, church-going people. But has it never occurred to you that prophets and preachers have before now cried, "Peace, peace," when the reality has been as far from them as you allege I am from preaching these doctrines? Or have you entered the lists as a Defender of the Faith, ignoring altogether as obsolete the Book which laid bare the hypocrisy of "the religious" salving their consciences with the vain-glorious boast, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we," at the very time they were "oppressing the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shedding innocent blood," and strongly rebuked for theft, murder, adultery, false-swearing, idolatry, whilst saying as if in open defiance of the Righteous Avenger, "We are delivered to do all these abominations (Jeremiah)? Why, Sir Robert, the Priest of Anathoth, had you lived in his day, must have caused you to think somewhat as Mr T. . . . does of the street-preacher, and others like him, who is reported you know to have said, "Strange persons get into the Church now-a-days."

But now that I am on the subject of Churchmen, and Church-goers, a word or two touching the efforts now making in this Babylon of the 19th Century for furnishing the million with church accommodation, will not be

deemed out of place. Your name is published, I observe, in connexion with the Bishop of London's Fund. Your sympathies have doubtless been awakened on your learning that tens of thousands of the "people" are wandering about as sheep without a shepherd when churches, if not chapels, are "full of aristocrats." Alarming estimates have been made and published of the numbers that attend no place of worship. But it might not be amiss to inquire about the numbers of still unoccupied sittings in our churches and chapels, and the reasons of their remaining thus unoccupied, notwithstanding the great "spiritual destitution." For one of these reasons we must point to the prevailing pew-system, than which nothing could have been devised by the wit of man more effectual for the exclusion of those who toil for subsistence. But there exists another reason, and it is closely connected; "When the poor and weary seek water in the sanctuary, how often do they find none?" Liturgical services are no doubt acceptable and profitable to the educated classes, but how little do the unlettered perceive their excellency. And then as to the preaching. This is still less of a character to be understood by the "people." It may be evangelical in doctrine, but the form in which it is presented, and oftentimes the listless manner in which it is enunciated, are such that men and women, little acquainted with the arts of composition, and who, from a thousand causes, are more in want of that portion of the Gospel which is addressed to the heart and feelings than that to the mere intellect, leave the church as little benefited as they would be in all probability by a walk in the parks. But above all the poor, as such, are not sympathised with by the preacher. As the parochial clergy have long since transferred the duty of visiting them in their humble abodes to the City Missionary or Scripture Reader, so their pulpit ministrations are for those with whom they visit. Hence, in the afternoons, when a sprinkling of artisans and their wives, with a few servants, are the worshippers, there is again found the delegated service of the curate or of some poor hireling; so entirely are the humble poor, passed over by the haughty incumbent. And as to the outcast poor, and the tens of thousands besides whose normal condition it is to be in a state of semi-starvation, who ever hears from a rector, or vicar, one word about them? No wonder, therefore, if, as a class, the poor have ceased to attend the sanctuary, discovering, as they do, that no sympathy is felt for them, either in the pew^{or} in the pulpit, the occupant of the former by his conduct, saying to his "inferiors" "stand thou there; or sit thou here under my footstool;" whilst "the parson" is even less condescending, for as he never himself visits the striving, struggling, starving poor, in their dark, dismal cellars, or wretched garrets, so he utterly ignores their presence if, when, at any time, a few of them may be found within the walls of the sanctuary, although to them especially belong the consoling words "*Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of Heaven.*"

Your charitable concern, however, for the souls of the masses, although, perhaps, like that of many others in our day, but little requited with success, is not as that of some, unaccompanied by a wider philanthropy. You, Sir Robert, have publicly stood forth as a friend of the working classes. But let us devote a moment to the manifestations of your sympathy. You are an advocate for the Working Men's Club Union. Now the friends and supporters of this institute tell us, while asking our assistance for the starting of these clubs, that the men themselves will by payments from their own earnings support the institute when once launched. They tell us, moreover, that it is not a charitable institution, and that it is intended merely to help those who help themselves. They tell us that it is designed to keep the toiling million from the beer shop, and to supplant smoking by science—the inhaling of the soothing fumes of tobacco by the to them unintelligible jargon of the lecturer. It appears, therefore, that your philanthropy takes the direction of teetotalism and Mechanics' Institutes. Now, we cannot suppose that your participation in Mansion House festivities has engendered in you this dread of “the demon drink” in the labouring classes, for Barclay and Perkins have but a small share in furnishing the tables at Lord Mayor's feasts; whence then your anxious concern, Sir Robert, about those who think that a pint of ale or stout after the labours of the day will do them no harm? But you and I have not crossed each other's paths in this quarter. I for one, desire to let the labouring classes who *can* help themselves devise their own plans for their gratification, and would that they had more of this sweetener of toil than their very limited means both as it regards time and money command. What I would fain know is, when will the time come for helping those of the labouring classes who *cannot* help themselves? There are “aristocrats”—the word is yours—among artisans. Such is your sympathy for any semblance of the favoured class that skilled labourers who earn their 30s or two guineas a week are the working men for you, that is, those who can help themselves. But what of the unskilled multitude of toilers and moilers? What of the tens of thousands in London alone whose earnings are not one-third or even one-fourth of those of the adequately remunerated? Let Spitalfields and Bethnal-green too be heard.

But we must return to your charge, Sir Robert, “the person I refer to,” you continued, “preaches widely from the doctrines of peace, for in speaking of the workhouses he calls them bastilles and prisons.” Now here let me thank you for being thus explicit and specific. Our Poor Law system then, is now the moot point. And now you must be regarded not merely as the self-elected champion of the aristocracy, but as the doughty defender of “the tender mercies of Union Workhouses,” in the expressive designation of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and that against all opponents. Well, many, we feel assured, will wish you joy upon this part of your courageous enterprise.

But now as my paper is already longer than I intended in this first notice of your prowess, I will content myself with a few remarks of a general character.

At the time you were thus doing battle for "workhouses," the case of the "murdered" Timothy Daly was under inquiry. Shortly after, if not simultaneously, poor Richard Gibson was literally "rotting" in St. Giles's workhouse. But a third victim, it would appear, has just been offered up to the "deterrent" character of the Poor Law system in the very same workhouse in which Gibson perished. "Dr. Lankaster," *The Times* informs us, "has just held an inquest on the body of a pauper, who was found dead in St. Giles's workhouse. He had had gruel, with bread and salt in it, in the afternoon. The Coroner asked the medical officer how it was that the paupers were allowed nothing to eat between four o'clock in the afternoon and three o'clock in the morning, to which Dr. Bennett replied that he considered it a bad arrangement. The 'wardsman,' himself a pauper, said that he had been allowed beer on account of the labour he performed, but the deceased had none. The Coroner remarked that it seemed very hard that an able-bodied man of 75 years should not have beer, a remark in which the jury expressed their hearty concurrence. After a very lengthened examination of witnesses, with regard to the food supplied to the paupers, the Coroner said,—'I think, as I said on a former occasion, the general dietary is too low, and, although it may not produce disease, it shortens the life of the inmates, and that ought not to be done. I may perhaps be allowed to remark that *they dare not treat prisoners in the same way they do our paupers.*'" Thus outspoken and indignant are at length Coroners become, whose words in italics (which are my own), now that we are on the subject of workhouses, being called bastilles and prisons, are those to which I would fain direct special attention. According to Dr. Lankaster, the latter surpass the former in the humanity of their regulations *longo intervallo*.

To give you increased satisfaction in this matter, suffer me just to point you to the following extract from the Parliamentary Report of the discussion on the Metropolitan Houseless Poor Bill, as reported in *The Times* of March 31st :—"Mr Knight said he was sorry that the Bill had been brought forward in its present shape, for he believed it to be the fact that while the refuges were full, the workhouses were quite empty. The terms on which relief was offered to the poor were such that they would not accept it, and it was a cruel thing to delude them with such a snare as the measure under the notice of the House. Owing to the harsh system which was adopted starvation reigned in the heart of London, and that starvation had greatly increased within the last few years. Two or three years ago there were only two cases a week of persons dying from starva-

tion, while this year the number was five or six ; and that state of things could be attributed, he thought, to no other cause than the more strict enforcement of the workhouse test which now prevailed."

* * * * *

But we would not too severely burden your powers of digestion, Sir Robert. Besides, I trust

"We two shall meet again."

Meanwhile, I have the honour to be,

Your faithful Servant,

CLERICUS, M.A.

April 25, 1865.

APPENDIX II.

CORRESPONDENCE.

St. Giles' Vicarage, Durham, September 24, 1875.

GENTLEMEN,—My name is not unknown to you, as it has been brought before you by friends on different occasions. I may mention, for one, the late much-respected Rev. Allan Gardiner Cornwall, who, after many kind efforts to obtain duty for me on the Continent through your society, finally informed me that he had come to the conclusion that some member or members of your body were actuated by hostile feelings towards me. Since then I have obtained proof that one of your secretaries, the Rev. Mr Moran, has grievously calumniated me. And as he did this in his official capacity, and could only have derived any knowledge of me through holding office under you—for he and I are otherwise utterly unacquainted with one another—you cannot deem it strange that I hold you responsible for his calumnies.

My sojourn on the Continent continued from June, 1867, to September, 1873. During the entire period I made various efforts in various parts to obtain duty, not only in Germany and Switzerland, but also in Italy and different parts of Spain, but generally without success. Everywhere—at Rome, Nice, Lisbon, Gibraltar—I found busy foes. All this, however, I bore with patience, attributing this disfavour to a lack of sympathy with honest utterances. But, when revisiting Munich in 1873, I discovered that *wicked calumny* had been doing its best to silence me in every place and virtually to put me out of the Church. Both at Lausanne and Geneva I lived a year, and was not once asked by either chaplain to officiate.

At Munich, then, in May, 1873, the chaplain, the Rev. Mr Fowler, fully informed me of what Mr Moran was most industriously saying to prejudice all he came in contact with against me. Mr Fowler had asked me to preach for him during this my second visit. After this, he related to me what Mr Moran had said to him, and in particular that he had cautioned him, Mr Fowler, *to have nothing whatever to do with me, representing me at the same time as unworthy of the clerical calling.* Now then, at last it had pleased Providence that I should know why I had so long been persecuted. The agents of your society were, beyond doubt, my calumniators, and, as I must conclude till I am assured by you to the contrary, with your consent and approbation.

And, let it be clearly understood, Mr Moran did not urge against me the holding or propagating any objectionable opinions, but *grounded all his opposition to me on my character as a man.*

Well, gentlemen, you may be sure I now considered it high time to be in England again, to regain my good name thus cruelly filched from me. Accordingly, in a correspondence which passed between me and Mr Fowler, the chaplain at Munich, on this subject, I informed him that I should no longer remain on the Continent to be vilified thus by your society, but return to England, from which he would, *D.V.*, hear of me once more.

The first thing I discover when in London, once again, is that my name has been struck off the Clergy List.

Now, I am willing to give you every opportunity of alleging aught against me you may think proper. If there are any clergymen in Durham or its neighbourhood you may be inclined to mention, I will readily appear before them to answer any charges you or your secretary, Mr Moran, may wish to bring against me. If you decline doing this, your sense of honour and common justice between man and man will doubtless lead you to make all possible reparation for injuring my reputation as a man, and destroying at the same time my usefulness as a clergyman.

I may merely add that whatever your reply to this may be, or if none at all, I shall deem myself at liberty to publish this communication. Should it elicit aught from you, I have only honestly to inform you that I shall shew your letter to numerous friends, or publish it together with my own.

I am, Gentlemen, faithfully yours,

RICHARD HIBBS.

To the Committee of the Continental Aid Society.

P.S.—As the Ven. Archdeacon ——— and the Rev. Canon ——— are the clergymen through whom I am *locum tenens* here for the absent vicar, I shall forward a copy of this letter to each of them. Should you think proper to communicate with them, I have to request, as an Englishman, that all may be open and above board. Indeed, I shall request those gentlemen to have nothing to do with so-called *privileged communications*. Too long have honest men been whispered down in this way.

R. H.

Colonial and Continental Church Society,
9, Serjeant's Inn, Fleet Street,

London, E.C., Sept. 25th, 1875.

REVD. SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 24th, addressed to the Committee of this Society, which has very much

surprised me, as I am sure it must be grounded on a complete misapprehension of the facts of the case.

Mr Moran is not at the office to-day, but I feel confident that you are altogether mistaken, or that he has been strangely misrepresented, and I must add that as that of which you so grievously complain took place in 1873, it is a great pity that the explanation when I am sure could have been given was not asked for then.

I will lay your letter before the Committee when they next meet. I am sure they will be as much astonished as I am at finding themselves charged with calumniating you, or with doing anything injurious to you. There is not the faintest shadow of a ground for such an imputation.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

LEWIS BORRETH WHITE,

Secretary.

Rev. R. Hibbs.

St. Giles' Vicarage, September, 1875.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—As you have not yet conferred with the Rev. Mr Moran, I can readily excuse your writing as you have done. It is simply *impossible*—i.e., of course, on the supposition of the Rev. Mr Fowler's veracity—that he can deny having done me the *greatest possible injury*. Mr F., to my utter surprise, without a word from me to call for what he did, boldly to my face gave me to understand that Mr Moran had said the most injurious things against me, and that he had cautioned him since very specially against having anything at all to do with me. This he repeated again and again; and that not in confidence, or in the least degree mincing the matter, but just as if he had been charged by Mr Moran in these terms: "Tell Mr Hibbs this to his face, as from me." Now, let me state another fact. A fortnight before this Mr F. had kindly, in reply to a letter received from me, in which I had begged him to inform me if he knew of any place where a clergyman was needed, stated that Baron Wolff, of Vienna, was seeking one for some watering place in Germany, and suggested my writing to him, and allowing me to make use of his name. Accordingly I did so, and the Baron, in reply, referred me to the party negotiating this matter. To this party then I wrote, *but received no reply*. Now, when I expressed to Mr F. my surprise at this, he immediately said that it was probably in consequence of Mr Moran's injurious statements.

Let me repeat now what I wrote in my letter to the Committee. Mr Moran, whom I have never seen so far as I know, was acting as the Secretary of your Society, when propagating these cruel misrepresentations. As a private person the mischief he made would have been comparatively

innocuous. But when speaking as your agent of course he must be considered as speaking authoritatively from the Society. It was manifestly Mr F.'s wish that I should so understand the matter. I must therefore be permitted to charge these calumnies upon the Committee until they distinctly repudiate the statements of Mr Moran, and assure me that he spoke against me without their authority or connivance.

No doubt *Scotch* malice—Satan's choicest—is really “the root of bitterness” from which this “evil speaking, lying and slandering,” originally sprung up, and from which I have suffered now these twenty years and more. God alone knows how much. Mr Fowler said enough besides what I have stated to convince me of that. But when I learnt that an English gentleman, as I assume Mr Moran to be, was busy in backing Scottish hate, I confess that I was shocked, and at once resolved no longer to sojourn in strange lands to be the very mark for “hatred, malice, and all uncharitable-ness” amongst my own fellow countrymen.

As to the delay in bringing this matter before the committee, let me state that a correspondence took place between me and Mr F. on this painful subject. This I was on the point of forwarding to the committee at the time Mr F. called at my lodgings, seeming greatly disconcerted at my taking up the matter so indignantly and threatening to adopt this course. I told him that I should send the correspondence to my wife, then in England, which I did, and that assuredly he would hear more of the matter should my life be spared. To appease me he wished me to preach again for him; of course, I refused. From that moment I ceased seeking duty abroad. In September following I returned to England, and, as duty was offered me in Yorkshire, I took it, and subsequently some in Wiltshire. From each, through the Grace of God, I have obtained very gratifying testimonials, and now you perceive I am in a better position to grapple with calumny, beginning again with fresh testimonials after 30 years' service. Put all together, and you will discover reasons enough for the delay.

One of the misrepresentations of my foes is that I am opposed to evangelical truth. This is the result of the letter which appeared against me in the *Record* many years since. But how unjust! Why even at that moment, I had recently, by subscription, constituted myself a life member of the Bible, the Church Missionary, and the Pastoral Aid Societies. And now, recently, although opposed to everything savouring of persecution, I have lately become, by subscription, a life member of the Church Association. I merely state this to show how unfounded are the charges which are brought against my *sentiments*. But I wish it particularly to be understood, as I stated in my other letter, that the complaint against me, as urged by Mr Moran, had nothing whatever to do with opinions, but simply with my conduct as a man.

You are quite at liberty to lay this letter also before the committee, should you, in the least degree, wish to do so.

I am,

My dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

RICHARD HIBBS.

Rev. L. B. White.

Colonial and Continental Church Society,

9, Serjeant's Inn, Fleet Street,

London, E.C., October 12, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am desirous by the committee to acknowledge your letter of September 24, which was laid before them at their last meeting on the 7th instant.

They desire me to assure you, in the strongest manner possible, that there is no foundation whatever for your supposition that the difficulty which you state you experienced in obtaining clerical duty on the Continent arose from any influence exerted by them to throw obstacles in the way of your doing so.

It is true that your name came, with many others, before them in 1868, as that of an applicant for a temporary continental chaplaincy. The committee did not see their way to acceding to your request, selecting others in preference to you, for the chaplaincies connected with the society; but their doing so did not in the least imply any imputation on your character as a clergyman. It was no part of their duty, or that of their officers, to prevent your obtaining duty in other quarters; and they have never tried to do so.

You ground your charge against them of having done so on the supposed facts:—1. That the late Rev. A. G. Cornwall repeatedly applied to the committee on your behalf, but unsuccessfully.

The committee have no recollection of receiving any communication from Mr Cornwall on the subject, except one letter which accompanied your application for a chaplaincy. They have, since they received your letter, looked through their correspondence, but there is no record of his having addressed them on any other occasion.

The other fact is, that you heard from Mr Fowler, of Munich, in 1873, that Mr Moran, one of the secretaries of the Society, had warned him against you, and spoken of you as one unworthy of the clerical calling.

I would observe that even if Mr Moran had said in 1873 what you suppose he said, it would be no proof that in the four or five years preceding that date he, or any other officer of the society, had tried to prevent you obtaining work upon the Continent, which is the charge you bring against

the committee. But Mr Moran emphatically disclaim: having said anything to Mr Fowler which would bear the sense you put upon it in your communication.

It is quite true that, speaking to Mr Fowler, then one of the society's chaplains, in a very important chaplaincy, he thought it right to mention, what he knew to be the fact, that the committee had not thought it well to entrust one of the society's chaplaincies to you, but he had no intention whatever of implying that they thought you unworthy of the clerical calling. A clergyman may be in many ways most worthy of his position and exemplary in his life, and yet there may be reasons to make the committee unwilling to entrust one of their chaplaincies to him.

They do not generally feel it right to give their reasons for declining applications made to them, but they have no hesitation in saying, under the circumstances, that their refusing your application arose, not from any doubts as to your fitness for the clerical calling, but from their knowledge of facts, which were notorious, that you were one whose name had been before the public, in connection with movements of a political and social rather than of a religious character, about which strong differences of opinion existed. The committee desired to pronounce no opinion at all as to whether the views you held, and so earnestly promulgated, were right or wrong; but they knew that the manner in which you advocated them was disapproved by very many, and likely, in any Continental Chaplaincy, to be the subject of very adverse criticism.

Mr Moran knew this, and felt it to be right to tell Mr Fowler, as one of the Society's chaplain's, that he thought it unadvisable that you should officiate there; but, as I have already said, he disclaims altogether having intended to cast any aspersion upon your character as a clergyman, and he has not the slightest recollection at having, on any other occasion, said even as much as he did at Munich.

Your own letter shows that you were quite aware that you were a public character, well known for the views you held, and your utterances on them, which, whether right or wrong, were certainly most distasteful to very many. Surely if you found a difficulty in obtaining a post on the Continent there is reason enough for it (as you yourself, from what you say, seem to have felt). To conclude, as you do, that the Committee of this Society were the cause of such a difficulty is an assumption which is plainly unnecessary, and I assure you, once more, from a perfect knowledge of the facts, altogether without foundation.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

LEWIS BORRETT WHITE,

Rev. R. Hibbs,

Secretary,

St. Giles' Vicarage, Durham, Oct. 21, 1875.

REV. SIRS AND GENTLEMEN,—I am in receipt of your reply, bearing date, Oct. 12th, to my communication addressed to you about a fortnight previously, in which I complained of your grievous defamation of my character, both as a man and as a minister of the gospel.

Despite your, and the Rev. Mr Moran's disclaimers in one part of this reply, both you yourselves and that gentleman clearly admit—it was not possible indeed to do otherwise—that he, with your authority, not only defamed me, but did all in his power to prevent my assisting officially a friend who invited me to his pulpit.

Providentially, I possess my letter to this friend, the Rev. R. R. Fowler, and his own when returning it—for he would not accept my proposed breaking with him in consequence of Mr Moran's defamatory charges against me. These letters abundantly prove the injustice, and the cruelty of Mr Moran's misrepresentation. One half of what he, as your delegate, said against me, supporting his calumnies on your own doings and authority, would be more than sufficient on which to ground an action at law.

And now your own letter, I repeat it, proves that to this moment you yourselves are ready to calumniate me.

But first, what can you mean by the statement :—"Your own letter shows that you were quite aware that you were a public character, well-known for the views you held, and your utterances on them: which, whether right or wrong, were certainly most distasteful to very many?"

You appear to draw this inference from some expression in my letter touching the boldness of my utterances. But, Reverend Sirs, cannot a preacher be bold in his God to say and do the things to which his ordination vow pledges him, without being defamed for it by his fellow preachers? All I meant by my "bold utterances" was simply that I "declared the whole counsel of God." And all the harm I wish you, gentlemen, those of you especially who are in Holy Orders, is, that you may have grace to "go and do likewise."

Let me remark further upon this that there is something un-English, nay, nothing less than *Scotch*, in '*wresting*' the words of a person against himself.

And now my reverend brethren and gentlemen, I come to the one grand point in your letter. You assert that you ground your objections to me upon your "knowledge of facts, which were notorious, that you were one whose name had been before the public, in connection with movements of a political and social, rather than of a religious character, about which strong differences of opinion existed."

I should ask you here for an explanation, were I not aware that Alderman Sir Robert — some years ago, promulgated against me the most

malicious falsehoods. Unsolicited by any, and altogether most gratuitously, he brought a complaint against me in the Marlborough Street Police Court of preaching in the streets against the "bloated aristocracy," &c. Now, gentlemen, the day after this was published in *The Times*, I presented myself in this same Police Court, with witnesses, to disprove this charge, and to make a solemn declaration that no such words, or any like them, had ever proceeded from my lips. The magistrate, it is true, refused to receive my disclaimer, and moreover, wantonly insulted me. Were it not for these 'facts,' upon which, no doubt, you ground your charge, I should challenge you to adduce proof of your assertions. As it is, I content myself with adding that your conduct towards me from beginning to end—"ab ovo usque ad mala"—necessitates me now to bring before the public once again, late as it is, this whole matter. Before going abroad I had written to disabuse the public mind touching this calumny of Sir Robert, but from one hindrance and another, I did not send my MS. to the printer. NOW IT MUST APPEAR, *together with this correspondence*. Here, in Durham, I have the cold shoulder and even my family are cut and slighted. Yes, gentlemen, for your consolation, if you can extract comfort from the fact, I will just tell you that in certain quarters you certainly have *some* to keep you in countenance in regarding me as a troubler of Israel, but, how long that will be so, may be a question. Let me add, however, that I have never uttered a word in the parks and thoroughfares of London, no, nor have I written a word—and my printed sermons in *The Pulpit* are numerous—which I would either delete or recall. In my preaching, let the *Saturday Review* be my witness, the Bible has ever been my companion to attest the truth of my 'utterances'; and "the head and front of my offending" has been that I have stood forward on behalf of the suffering and deserving poor, many of whom are left to the bitter alternative of what Lord Shaftesbury has, with irony, stinging but just, designated "the tender mercies of the Union Workhouse," or, *death from starvation*. No one, whether noble or plebeian, have I, as cruelly misrepresented, wished to drag down, but my sole aim has been, in pleading for Christ's poor, and those "who have none to help," to see them raised up from their awful state of degradation and wretchedness, and thus to be in a better and more equitable condition of becoming partakers of "*the common salvation*."

Do not ungenerously and captiously abuse my "admission" that some are against me. To guard myself here, I will tell you further that I have recently put the Ven. Archdeacon, through whom I now have temporary clerical duty in Durham, in possession of testimonials, both new and old, extending through a period of 34 years (I was ordained in 1841) down to this very day, from which it will appear that, though only "a hewer of wood and drawer of water" in the sanctuary, I have ever, by the grace of

God—to Him be all the praise—performed the duties required of me by the “superior Clergy” to their entire satisfaction. I might say more, but it is not my wont to indulge in vain boasting. But on every account do I now once for all boldly protest against your decrying me as a *political* preacher. I appeal to every honest man in England to judge between you and me in this matter. Why, that I am still unbeneficed has resulted, I am prepared to prove, from the fact that I am *not* a political partisan; and yet you have done all you could absolutely to excommunicate me, and to deprive me even of the poor Curate’s crust.

Believe me,

Rev. Sirs and Gentlemen,

More in sorrow than in anger,

Faithfully yours,

RICHARD HIBBS.

To the Committee of the Colonial and
Continental Church Society.

Colonial and Continental Church Society,

9, Serjeant’s Inn, Fleet Street,

London, E.C., Oct. 22, 1875.

REV. SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 21, which shall be laid before the Committee of the Society at its next meeting.

I remain, yours very faithfully,

Rev. R. Hibbs.

LEWIS BORRETT WHITE.

[The correspondence between this Society and the author was thus brought to a close, as no further notice has been taken of the last letter. Were anything further needed to shew how he has been all along treated by these gentlemen, he would remark that he has other facts in store bearing upon the subject. The following is an extract from one of his note-books: “When in Rome, in the spring of 1868, at the recommendation of my friend Dr. Gason, I wrote to one of the Colonial Church and School Society’s Secretaries to state that I was then resigning the sole charge of Beverstone, of which the Rev. A. G. Cornwall was the Rector, and that I should be happy to get some work on the Continent from the Society.” No REPLY. As to the Society’s denial that Mr Moran had propagated any calumnious statements *before* 1873, when it is now admitted that he endeavoured to prejudice Mr Fowler against Mr Hibbs, it was only natural to infer that this had been done either by Mr Moran or by some other agent of the Society. This gentleman was now caught in the very act. Nor was it “the Chaplaincy” at Munich, or any other that was in question, when Mr F. invited Mr H. (just temporarily residing at Munich a second time) to preach for him; but Mr Moran, as the zealous agent of the Society, instantly, on ascertaining the fact, endeavoured to ruin for ever Mr H. in the estimation of his friend Mr Fowler. This compelled Mr H. to return to England, as he was convinced that it was now perfectly useless to seek duty on the Continent.]

APPENDIX III.

MORE RECENT CASES OF DEATH FROM
STARVATION, &c., &c.

THREE DREADFUL CASES IN A SINGLE REPORT OF THE *TIMES*,
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25TH, 1875.

DEATHS FROM PRIVATION.—Yesterday, Dr. Hardwicke held an inquest at the White Hart Tavern, Myddleton Street, Clerkenwell, on the body of Caroline Watson, aged 65. The deceased, it appeared, lived in a kitchen at 19, Skinner Street. She earned from 1s 6d to 2s per week by making shirts for a tradesman in Holborn, and received a little assistance from the parish. On Monday morning she was found to have died from starvation. The room in which she existed was half underground, and very dirty, and the window was covered with an iron grating. The Coroner remarked that the Local Government Board ought to appoint female inspectors to visit these dwellings. If that was done the death-rate would not be so alarming. The deceased gained money by making articles of wearing apparel—a significant fact. He hoped the Government would take steps to mitigate the sufferings of the poor, and put an end to such a fearful state of things. Verdict: “Death from Starvation.” Yesterday evening Mr Payne held an inquiry at the board-room of St. George’s Workhouse, Mint Street, Borough, on the body of Daniel Drury, aged 59, a jobbing bricklayer. The deceased lived with his wife and nine children in a room at 14, Clarendon Place, Mint Street, the rent being 1s 6d per week. Robert Hams, an elderly man, said that he lived in the next room to the deceased. On Thursday night he heard the deceased groaning, and early on the following morning found him lying on the floor with his wife and children. There was no furniture or food in the room. The deceased died the same morning. Mary Ann Elizabeth Drury, wife of deceased, said that they had been in want for some time, but on Friday week he managed to get out and earn 1s 6d. Out of that sum they had to pay 1s for rent. The next day the deceased was unable to get up. Witness asked him if he would have the parish doctor, but he replied, “Oh, no; I think I am better.” On Saturday she applied to the parish authorities for relief, but was told that she must go into the workhouse. Mr Robert G. Brown, surgeon, said he found death was caused by extensive disease of the lungs, accelerated by want of food. The jury returned a verdict in accordance with the medical evidence, and subscribed £1 3s for the widow. An inquiry was held yesterday at the Duke’s Head Tavern, Whitechapel, by Mr Humphries, relative to the death of Ann Driscoll, aged about 75. From the evidence of a Police Constable it appeared that about half-past 10 o’clock on Saturday morning, during the snowstorms, he found the deceased lying in Quaker Street, Spitalfields, with only an old rag on her body. She had no home, and had been in the habit of sleeping out of doors. The constable took her to the workhouse, but she was unable to swallow any stimulants, and died a few hours after admission. Death was due to an effusion on the brain, accelerated by want of the proper necessities of life, and exposure to the weather. The jury returned a verdict in accordance with the medical evidence.

To show that even to *this hour* these fatal privations are endured, and that also in other towns than London, we extract the following from the *Daily News*, February 8th, 1876 :—

“STRANGE DEATH FROM DESTITUTION.—A shocking case of death from starvation occurred in Birmingham on Sunday afternoon. The deceased, John W. Smith, between 40 and 50 years old, was once a wholesale tobacconist in Birmingham, but meeting with misfortunes he fell into poverty. Lately he had been employed in colouring pipes, and occasionally in travelling for orders, to meet the necessities of his family, which consisted of a wife and six children, and their existence has been of a most distressing character. There is not, and for some time has been, a single bed in the house; the whole family slept on the kitchen floor. The deceased and his wife appear to have been above seeking parish assistance, and even the aid which neighbours have proffered has been reluctantly received and sometimes refused. The deceased was in a most emaciated condition. It is said he threatened to commit suicide if his wife applied to the parish authorities.”

Bah! these “parish authorities!” Think of poor John Blake.

From the *Times*, January 8, 1876 :—“Ann Baker, charged at Clerkenwell with creating a disturbance in St. Pancras, W., said ‘The Poplar Workhouse was a hell upon earth, was worse than the Bastille.’ Paupers there were goaded by ill-treatment to do things which under a different system they would never think of.”

With reference to the above, it may be stated that a friend and coadjutor of the author in his open-air addresses, who had himself also been a Guardian of the City of London Union, when conversing on the subject of Unions with a gentleman still a Guardian, was plainly told by the latter that if they did not make their Unions “HELLS” they would have too many applications for admission. Behold then, readers, the *charity* of Christian England in this latter half of the nineteenth century! What would the pious generations of the past, none of whom boasted of being millionaires, could they be amongst us, say to all this?

From the *Northern Echo*, Jan 20, 1876 :—“An inquest has been held on Margaret Lockerby (53), four years a widow (of Albert Mews, Middlesbrough), at the Wellington Hotel, Middlesbrough. She had received from the parish 2s 6d a week, but the new Guardians had taken this off because they said she could maintain herself. She paid 2s a week for her lodgings. Evidence shewed that she was starved; but though the relieving-officer gave a certificate of illness when applied for, the doctor did not go till the poor woman was dead.”

The *Newcastle Daily Journal* says of this case :—“Thrown upon her own resources, she was now dependent upon the charity of her friends; and as her age increased her health gradually declined.” N.B. This instance shews what the results will be when out-door relief is cut off, because deceased positively refused to enter the union.

The *Durham County Advertiser*, of Feb. 25, 1876, contains a notice bearing upon this subject, which demands the gravest consideration. Here it is :—A STRANGE FACT.—A somewhat curious state of facts with respect to out-door relief was revealed at the last meeting of the Sunderland Board of Guardians. It seems that in spite of hard times and depressed trade the amount of out-relief, when compared with 1872, shows a decrease of 50 per cent. in the number of persons and 55 per cent. in the amount expended.

In the 20th week of the March half-year, 1872, 3,467 paupers were relieved at a cost of £259 18s 9d; in the corresponding week of this year there were 1,802 paupers, who cost £124 14s 4d. The amount in the latter week for Sunderland parish, the poorest district of the borough, was the smallest for a period of twelve years! The Guardians did not seem able to agree as to the true cause of this state of affairs, but the clerk concurred in the theory of Mr F. Ritson that it was due chiefly to the vigilance of the district committees and relieving officers, who have for some time tested applicants and recipients of relief by an offer of the workhouse or nothing—the latter as a rule being preferred. It is probable that a great number of persons, necessitous enough when relief was first granted them, were allowed to remain on the lists long after their circumstances had ceased to render parish relief absolutely necessary to their existence."

Touching this remark of the Clerk of the Guardians, we would observe that it is doubtless right to keep a constant eye on the circumstances of persons receiving parochial relief, and to erase from the list the names of those who no longer need assistance; but most certainly to cut off all those hitherto receiving out-door relief, as some are for doing, would only be to increase the number of deaths from starvation, as was the sad result at Middleborough.

Times, January 26th, 1870.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

WEEKLY RETURN BY THE REGISTRAR GENERAL.

The following deaths of six persons, whose deaths were either caused or accelerated by privation, were recorded at Hackney:—Hackney. "At the Workhouse, on the 14th of January, a labourer, aged 38 years; inflammation of lungs, want of food, exposure, and privation. *Post-mortem* (inquest).—Hackney South. At 13, Goring Street, on the 13th of January, a shoemaker, aged 67 years; want and privation, producing effusion on the brain. (Inquest).—Holborn, St. Andrew's Eastern. At 15, Baldwin's Gardens, on the 16th of January, the wife of a smith, aged 28 years; diarrhœa (seven days), exhaustion, and want of proper food.—In the same sub-district. At Holborn Union Workhouse, on the 18th of January, a widow aged 75 years; pleuritis, accelerated by want and exposure. Found dead. *Post-mortem* (inquest).—Whitechapel (Mile-End, Newtown). At the workhouse, on the 14th of January, a labourer, aged 64 years; want of necessities of life. *Post-mortem* (inquest).—Whitechapel (Church). At Whitechapel Road, on the 18th of January, aged about 40 years; dropsy, with exposure and destitution. *Post-mortem* (inquest)."

What an amount of misery does this *authorised* return reveal!—Query. Do Registrar Generals *still* report "deaths from privation," or have they found them too numerous to be thus recorded and particularised?

APPENDIX IV.

THE PEABODY FUND

The following was copied from the *Echo* into *Galignani's Messenger*, Paris, February 23, 1870 :—" At a Clerkenwell inquest, last night, Dr. Lankester drew attention to the different proportions of income paid by the rich and the poor for rent. A rich man thinks himself hardly used if he pay one-eighth of his income in rent ; but Emma Davis, whose death was then under consideration, out of an income of 8s a week, paid 5s 9d for a room on Peabody's buildings. The consequence was that she died of starvation. George Peabody can scarcely have contemplated death by starvation in houses raised by his munificence. He intended to provide dwellings even for such people as had but 8s a week to live upon, and cannot have supposed that the rent of his "charitable" houses would squeeze the pockets of those poor who lived in them till death from starvation should supervene. There is still some £150,000 of this charity unexpended. Is this further sum to be laid out in such a manner as to entail consequences like these? If so, for all the good that the over-crowded poor may expect, George Peabody might as well never have been born. Up to the present the Peabody charity has done nothing more than the Onslow Dwellings have done without charity."

MR FIELDEN, M.P.

To shew what are the avowed sentiments of honest M.P.'s with reference to the treatment of the poor, we extract the following from the *Times* of February 26, 1870. Mr Fielden was the speaker :—"That was to say, that having done all that an honest man could do to obtain employment, he was to be admitted into what was to all intents and purposes a prison, where he was locked up at night, and stripped of the clothes in which he entered. But this was not all. While the man, who was willing to work, and had done all that he could to obtain it, was separated from his family and kept within the walls, he was to be 'distinctly told that the arrangement could only be temporary, in order that his wife and family might seek work for him.' Could anything be conceived more unjust, more cruel? The man who had honestly tried to get work—for he was bound to satisfy the Guardians of that in the first instance—was shut up in order that his wife, with probably two or three little children, and one, perhaps, on her back, might go seeking about for the employment which her husband had been unable to find." The latter went on to say that "the strict workhouse principle required that all the members of a family claiming relief should enter the house and give up their property for the benefit of the parish." Enter the workhouse or starve was the choice thus put before them. Surely it was no wonder that such a system had practically failed. It had created the army of vagrants which the Department was now trying in vain to control. It was not the idle, vagabond class who were thus dealt with, but the honest and deserving poor—men who were willing to work, and who would not go to the Union Workhouse to be separated from their wives and children. They would rather sleep in barns and under hedges on their way to the nearest town, often finding their way up to London. He told the House if they persevered in this course—attempts to drive the honest,

hard working poor into the workhouse—the necessary result would be to increase the vagrant class to such an extent that it would be utterly impossible to deal with them.”

Mr Goschen, in his reply, said “he believed they had now to deplore the evils of increased pauperism because the administration had been too lax, not because it had been too severe.” The hon. member said “it was hard that an able-bodied labourer should be put to the workhouse test; but but he believed there was no other country that gave relief to the able-bodied labourer. In Scotland the able-bodied were entitled to no relief whatever.”

Mr Goschen, from whom better things might have been expected, considering his Teutonic name, would do well to learn something about the Elberfelders and their system of poor relief.

LA SUISSE ET L'ANGLETERRE.

“Dans le village de Saglio (Grisons) vit une femme qui a atteint cet automne sa centième année et qui est encore assez vigoureuse pour faire certains travaux aux champs et au logis. Le jour de son centième anniversaire, la commune de Saglio a décidé que dorénavant il serait fourni à cette brave femme, aux frais de la commune, chaque jour une chopine de vin de la valtelline et une personne pour l'aider et la soigner.”—L'Estafette, Lausanne, October 20, 1871.

TRANSLATION.

“In the village of Saglio, in the Grisons, there is living a woman who completed this autumn her hundredth year, and is still strong enough to do both field and house work. On the day of her hundredth anniversary, the commune of Saglio resolved that in future this jolly dame should be daily supplied, at the expense of the commune, with a jug of good wine, and have a person to assist and take care of her.”

Behold then, reader, an instance of Swiss charity as it regards the aged poor. These thrifty people of the Alps are generally thought to be mercenary; hence the proverb, “Point de l'argent point de Suisse.” But, whatever may be their thirst for gold, they manifestly surpass us in “love to the brethren.” For a proof of this we venture to take an extract from our “Observations concerning the Poor and the New Poor Law.” (London: Hatchard, 1851):—“The writer would fain warn the public against a very common error touching Union regulations. The keeper of the conscience of the Board of Guardians, as to the support of the outer man of their wards, the paupers, is the *Medical Officer*. It is important to this gentleman that he be possessed of sufficient penetration to discover more readily the wishes of his paymasters, than the wants of his patients. The value of his much-boasted power to order, whatever he deems necessary, may be pretty readily estimated. At the Union, which, as has been said, it was the writer's duty to visit weekly, he found on one occasion a poor woman, bent almost double with infirmity, enjoying the allowance of a quarter of a pint of porter *per diem*, which had been granted her on the ground of her being too delicate for the common diet of the House. At a subsequent visit he discovered the poor creature's porter had been ‘taken off;’ the nurse of the room, however, complained heavily of the doctor for his hard-heartedness. When he went again he found that this sister of Lazarus had gone ‘where they hunger no more, neither thirst any more.’”

As to the general relief of the poor in Switzerland, the author, who lived a year and more at Lausanne, in the Canton de Vaud, conceives that what is done in this canton may be fairly considered as a type of the practice throughout the Swiss Confederation. Mons. Chauvannes, the well-known banker of that ancient and now rapidly extending city, a gentleman intimately acquainted with the affairs of the commune, and, possibly, a sharer in their direction, courteously favoured the author just before quitting Lausanne with an interview for the express purpose of acquainting him with the general plan of relief in that city and neighbourhood. He stated, *inter alia*, the following facts:—Men and women, sixty-four years of age, are, *ipso facto*, entitled to receive assistance from the commune. Their pastor may demand help for them. Here there is no taxing of the poor for the poor,—*i.e.*, the poor's-rate is not levied on the poor.* Above all, there are no Unions, *alias* Bastilles. As to the interposition of the parochial minister on behalf of the poor weak ones committed to his charge, as well as their wealthy neighbours, the words of this worthy gentleman were, "*Le pasteur est l'intermédiaire toujours, toujours; c'est naturel.*"

THE SWISS FIGARO.

In *Le Figaro Suisse* of the 25th April, 1870, we read—"L'Angleterre a diminué Sa dette nationale, de 175 millions pendant l'année 1869. Il paraît que ses finances sont prosperes. Quand donc le royaume uni se decidera il a diminuer le nombre de ces citoyens qui meurent de faim."

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

"England, during the year 1869, reduced its national debt by 175 millions. It appears that its finances are prosperous. WHEN THEN WILL THE UNITED KINGDOM RESOLVE TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF ITS CITIZENS WHO DIE OF STARVATION?"

ITALY AND ENGLAND.

The following is an extract from "*Il Dovere*,"—Genova, 23, 7, 1868:—

"Il regno unito britannico è la famosa libera terra in cui, piu che altrove, si muore di fame. E questa verità ci esonera d' ogni ulteriore commento." In our own vernacular—"The United Kingdom of Great Britain is the far-famed *free* country in which more than in any other country in the world, people die of hunger. This fact will spare us any further comment." Surely, the blush of shame should arise on our cheeks, and we should be ready to say,

"pudet hæc opprobria nobis
 "Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli."

"OUR LAWS AND OUR POOR."

The following observations on the in-door treatment of the poor from a work just published (1876), entitled "*Our Laws and our Poor*," by Frances Peck (London, John B. Day), will not be deemed irrelevant to this part of our subject:—"The want of proper discrimination in the management of our poor-law relief is one of the worst defects of the present system: it begins in the

* See the painful case of the poor labourer at Hatfield, about the year 1842, as referred to page 35, and noticed at the period of its occurrence in *The Times*.

workhouse nurseries and school-rooms, where the orphan children of the deserving poor are herded with the children of the refuse of society; it is continued among the able-bodied, when the virtuous widow is sent to pick oakum amongst the most degraded of her sex: it extends even to the death-bed, where the poor invalid who, to save herself from such a fate, has worked till she could work no longer, and starved till she could starve no longer, is carried from her wretched home to linger out life's last hours in a bed, on each side of which may be depraved wretches whose every word is foulness and blasphemy."

QUERY.—Is this torturing of the virtuous by placing them side by side with the most depraved and abandoned, and thus causing them to be vexed with "the filthy conversation of the wicked," merely incidental to "the present system:" or is it rather an essential element planned and designed to render the relief afforded as *deterrent* as possible? Certain it is that to the virtuous death itself is preferable to prolonged existence under conditions so cruel, nay, so diabolical.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS RESPECTING THE NEW POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT OF 1834.

We give here a few extracts from the Press, as recorded from time to time in our note-books. From *The Times*.

Dec. 4, 1863.—"To this day we must protest against shutting up in a prison—for such a Union Workhouse is in a degree—the victim of misfortunes that cannot possibly be helped."

Feb. 19, 1864.—"When (1834) poverty was made terrible and penal."

Again, we find in the same world-enlightening organ of a later date the following: "The Legislature has made up its mind with some partial and temporary relentings, that old men and old women, widows and orphans, shall only be allowed penal relief, that is, a maintenance combined with stigma, discomfort, and degradation. The nation punishes poverty. In the narratives of 'death by starvation,' so often recurring in these columns, it appears that even in the case of severe illness, combined with very low earnings, the in-door test is generally applied in this metropolis, and relief refused except on condition that not only the sufferer, but all that belong to him or her, shall go into the workhouse. But the simplest fact of numbers dying because they would rather die, as they say, than go into a workhouse, is enough to prove that the nation holds poverty to be a crime, and treats it accordingly," *

* The author here begs to be allowed to make an extract from one of his sermons in which these opprobrious remarks—no less just than stinging—are quoted: "Now there can be no mistaking these words of what is generally considered the chosen organ of public opinion. It is twice asserted that 'the nation punishes poverty.' Here, then, we ask not—Is this *charity* thus to regard the poor as sinners above all others, because they are poor—but, is this just, righteous, equitable in any nation, but especially in one that professes and calls itself Christian? And very especially it may be added in such a nation as has adopted such a system of political economy as must have proceeded from the brain and heart of the prime minister of Mammon? One of the foundation principles of this theory for making the millionaire and grinding the million is this:—Labour is to be remunerated according to its market value. So the poor starving needle-women, when they become so numerous that to get work at all they are constrained to make shirts for three-farthings a piece instead of the semi-starving price, three-pence, are to be treated as criminals as soon as they ask for parochial relief to keep body and soul together. Brethren in Christ, sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty—'Almighty and most merciful'—the Saviour and yet the Just One, surely the feeling of your hearts must

At times, too, this mighty organ of public opinion has allowed even ridicule to hurl its shafts. Thus *Times*, Jan. 12, 1842.

EPITAPH ON A POOR-LAW COMMISSIONER.

"Beneath this stone a man doth lie,
"Who strove the flesh to mortify;
"Wasting away to skin and bone,
"The flesh of *others*—not his own." *Omega.*

The following extracts are from an article in the *Daily News*, December 8th, 1862, headed "The London Poor":—

"With all our boasted Poor Law system, with all our large and impulsive benevolence, with institutions cropping up in every street for the relief of every form of suffering, more people die annually of absolute starvation in London than in any other city in the world."

"While the Lancashire misery has been at its height—within the short space of two autumnal months—we have noted fifteen deaths from starvation in London which have been reported in the papers."

"Is this a state of things to be proud of? One man found like a dead dog in Smithfield pens—a place where no dead beast whose carcase was worth a shilling was ever suffered to be unheeded for ten minutes."

"This is not in a poor second-rate country which lives from hand to mouth, which repudiates State loans less from poverty than from want of means. It is a country which glories in a gigantic National Debt, and squanders a hundred millions a year in universal government."

"It is not all poverty which is a disgrace to those who suffer from it; and even if it were it still demands to be fed. A DEATH FROM STARVATION IS A NATIONAL DISGRACE, AND OUGHT TO BE RECORDED FOR EVER IN A TEMPLE OF NATIONAL SHAME."

"Some of them (the London poor), who are amongst the least reputable, may disgrace us by their lives; but the most wretched and deserving—probably the most numerous body—have far more power to disgrace us by their deaths."

be, This is monstrous; nay, devilish. Whilst commerce can thus ride rough-shod over the ground-down poor, and that by means of an iniquitous Poor Law—for nothing tends to keep down wages like this—surely the words are applicable even to the very letter.

"Accursed trade! which thrives on human pain,
"And calls forth every misery in vain;
"Accursed men! who building wealth on woe,
"Force blood and tears to stream in ceaseless flow."

Now who does not perceive that such a state of things must necessarily produce large numbers of weak and destitute persons—weak, because destitute? The Scripture, as if foreseeing this, makes it imperative on those professing Christianity "to support the weak." And, my brethren, it is our refusing to do this that renders us so culpable. Widows, orphans, sick, aged—to leave these to perish, or to "neglect" them is to deny the faith, and to be worse than infidels. It is these, be it remembered, for whom we are pleading; not for the idle and the desolate. No, "for if any will not work, neither shall he eat." It is the helpless poor—the poor, not by their own fault, but the poor as disabled by infirmity or age, for whom it is the duty of Christians to make an adequate provision." Even the Roman moralist, Cicero, unaided by revelation, could write, "hoc maxime officii est ut quisque maxime opis indigeat. ita ei potissimum opitulari."

"It is primarily our duty to assist very especially all those who stand most in need of assistance."

The Tusculan philosopher, it is easy to discover from his writings, was a great admirer of Socrates. This latter used to execrate the man who first discovered expediency from right. Whether, then, it is heathen teaching or Christian, how awkward must it appear to Local Boards, and *id genus omne*.

As to the organs of the press, to their credit be it stated, they have been unanimous in exposing and denouncing these far too long tolerated institutions. These indignant utterances, copied from time to time into our note-books, would require another such a *brochure* as this, fully to transcribe; but, *satis, superque*. But how strange, that people should turn away their eyes from the most abject misery at their own doors, and fasten them upon some imaginable objects of compassion at the other end of the world. In a speech reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, of November 30, 1875, as uttered by the Rev. Mr Hutchinson, Secretary of some Missionary Society, at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, we read of the eloquence expended on "*the poor wretches of Africa*." Pshaw! Wretchedness which never entered into the heart of slave or savage to conceive, we are bold to say, is endured in the very precincts of the Temple of Mammon in the Metropolis, and that by thousands; as also in all the large towns of England, so renowned throughout the world for their "enormous wealth."

POLICE CONSTABLES AND THEIR EVIDENCE.

Of late years the public has heard statements concerning the lack of truthfulness in police-constables which are by no means reassuring. These peace-officers in giving their evidence have shown in too many instances an utter disregard of the sacredness of an oath. The author has himself had full proof of this painful fact. He has known one of these men to swear most deliberately to a falsehood, while another was standing by his side ready, doubtless, to confirm the statement of his perjured partner, had the magistrate (Bow Street) permitted him. And even when *wilful* perjury is abstained from, it too frequently happens that these men are far too careless in giving their testimony. On another occasion, a sergeant of police, unwittingly indeed, the author believes, but still most positively, attested on oath that words were uttered by the latter which never proceeded from his lips. True, such words were, perhaps, often uttered by open-air preachers, but most certainly not by the accused. This is much to be regretted, as men of high moral principle are, happily, to be found in their body. The writer, when Curate of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, many years since, was in the habit once a week of addressing, in the course of his sacred duties, a large number of these men assembling for devotional exercises, in a room just opposite the Bow-street Police Court. Were he ever to resume such duties, he would most certainly devote a series of addresses to these officers on the subject of false-swearing. Few amongst them, he is convinced, entertain just conceptions of the obligation of an oath. The Baptist in the wilderness adapted his preaching to the characters of his auditory, which we see, for instance, in the fact that he enjoined the soldiers "to do violence to no man" as well as "to be content with their wages."

When the author was *locumtenens* for a time of the Chaplain at the House of Correction at Westminster, his duty was to examine the prisoners on their entering the prison. Many of 600 female convicts were imprisoned for 7 days, or more, when discovered to be begging in the streets. He will never forget the persistency of some in declaring that the police-constable had sworn falsely, and that they were *not* soliciting alms. It seemed, not unfrequently, that the policeman was anxious to find jobs of this kind, as if to show that he was not always idling in the area; so that, if at a distance, he did but catch a glimpse of a poor person speaking with a well-dressed

one—to be directed on her way and the like—she was immediately taken in charge by the busy Bobby, without his waiting for others to give the supposed culprit in charge. In these cases, the magistrate almost invariably convicts the accused on the simple unsupported testimony of the policeman.

NEWSPAPER REPORTERS.

Did our space permit—our aim is a shilling book for the rail—we would enter here upon another no less important point to the public, viz., the subject of *Newspaper Reports*. Sometimes the writers of these reports—especially those whose employ is in the Police Courts—*spice-up* what they write to their employers. We have known, not only in our own concerns, but also in those with which we have been only very remotely interested, statements to issue from this quarter which were utterly devoid of truth; so that for years both Editors of Newspapers and their readers have laboured under false impressions, arising from these corrupt sources of information.

A VOICE FROM MAYFAIR.

In a very able letter recently addressed to the Editor of the *Drawing Room Gazette* on the subject of "Casual Wards," signed, "C. A. Ward," and dated "Mayfair," we read some grave remarks eloquently expressed on the subject of the rich and the poor in our country—a subject so bewildering to the foreigner. After reminding his west-end readers that "Seneca, writing in Rome, said that to be 'poor in the midst of riches is the most insupportable poverty,'" he proceeds to remark touching the Casual Poor. "But first of all I must protest against placing the poor under the regulation of the police. The police are to repress *crime*, and ill-fares the land, so brutalised, so callous in its mind as to look on poverty as criminal, and treat it so. I say no more on this head, but that it is a distinction that goes to the root and very deepest depths of humanity."

Our limited space forbids our quoting more largely from this noble, outspoken plea for the poor in the regions of Belgravia.

THE LATE REV. CANON KINGSLEY.

The following is a quotation from this talented author, as quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1850 (or 1851):—

"If the comfort of the few be for ever to be bought by the misery of the many—if civilisation IS TO BENEFIT EVERY ONE EXCEPT THE PRODUCING CLASS—then this world is truly the devil's world, and the sooner so ill-constructed and infernal a machine is destroyed by that personage the better." The reviewer, of course, rebukes this strong language, but the utterance from such a quarter is painfully significant.

The late lamented Rev. Canon Kingsley, it is reported, was a Hampshire man, as is the writer of this plea for the poor. Is there aught in the atmosphere of this part of England which generates in those who are natives of it a concern for "the affliction of Joseph?" This we leave to topographical, physiological, and psychological writers to determine. Be it as it may, the author, a native of *Romsey*, who lost his father when not yet five years of age,

was in early boyhood initiated by his late uncle, who was churchwarden of the fine old Abbey Church for many years, and prior to this an Overseer of the parish of Romsey Infra, into the *arcana*—such as they were then—of parochial science. When quite a child he often accompanied his uncle to the Parish Workhouse, there to witness the kindly treatment of the sick and aged poor, under the care of a master and matron respected for their humanity. This, of course, was under the Elizabethan system, when as yet the merciless New Poor Law was scarce in embryo—in the womb of futurity, where it were well for England had it perished, and never seen the light. Here, too, did he behold the used up labourer and artisan healthily employed in the spacious garden, or rather field, in immediate proximity to the Workhouse, something similar to which may be seen now at *Elberfeld*. Decayed tailors and shoemakers too, were seen there proudly still plying their old callings for the benefit of the other inmates of the House of Mercy; arrangements precisely similar to which were seen by the author, in the year 1868, at Genoa, when *locum tenens* for the English Chaplain of that beautiful city, and, no doubt, may be seen there to this day. But how changed from all this is the harsh system now in vogue, with its stone-breaking and oakum-picking! Say not, this charity was abused. No, no; idle vagabonds were punished; but the weak were supported, according to the command of the gospel. Had the late Lord Palmerston, who, it has been said, as a Romsey man, took a deep interest in everything pertaining to the town—despite its renown for being seated in the mud—made himself thoroughly acquainted with this system's excellencies, as well as faults—for he had them, but they were not irremediable—as exhibited within a mile of Broadlands, and listened to humane advisers, he would never have united with the northern school of Political Economy in substituting so much godless inhumanity in the new system for the Christian charity of the old. Some may exclaim, "Here is only another senile *laudator temporis acti*." Be it so; but there still exists a *Nemesis* to alarm the unjust with the cry of the prophetic choir—*τὸ δ' εἰς νικᾶται*. It was never the good fortune of the writer of these remarks to meet *vis-a-vis* the canny, versatile, many-sided Premier, so popular and yet so acceptable to the Conservative party, except on one occasion, when he was officiating in Hatfield Church, at the time when his Lordship was on a visit to the late Lord Melbourne, at Bocket Hall. Through the late Dr. Beddome, of Romsey—so many times Mayor, and so much esteemed by the Premier—the writer, however, discovered that the great statesman regarded him, when supporting the *English* Episcopalians in Scotland, and just then publishing his "*Scottish Episcopal Romanism, or Popery without a Pope*," as savouring too much of "the partisan." If to uphold the *Protestant* Church, as such, of our fathers, be partisanship, then the charge was just; but if it was supposed that the author is a *political* partisan, nothing could have been farther from the truth. His motto touching *politics* has ever been—

"*Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*"

A HINT CONCERNING "REMEDY."

We are aware that there are some who think that it is a vain labour to expose evils if you have no remedy to propose. But it is something to learn that evils do exist. The author has met with intelligent persons even in London, moving in the higher ranks, who cannot believe that any of their fellow-creatures around them ever perish of starvation. But as to remedies,

these would be speedily found in abundance if we had but the charity needed for the work. This is clearly demonstrated by what is done for the poor at Elberfeld. Still, if we ourselves are asked—What remedy then do you propose? We would boldly answer—First of all, level with the ground those Houses of Detention and Punishment, fit only for convicts, called Unions by some, but stigmatised as Bastilles by not a few. Never will England recover her “good conscience” as to her treatment of the poor till she has put her hand to the *diruit* so far. If she would try her hand once again at the *œdificat*, let her build alms-houses for aged persons—the *emeriti*—amongst those who have toiled all the night and have taken nothing—if they may not be relieved in their own abodes. Let widows, too, be treated with “honour,” as St. Paul directs. Let the children of the poor be well educated, and raised above the state of pauperism; and, in a word, let not merit any longer be treated as vice; nor the deserving be confounded with the culpable. We see and lament, if we are patriots indeed, the dire results of the *punitive* system—dire in ten thousand respects. Let us yield now to the dictates of charity, remembering that it is written in the Book we profess to honour—“The liberal deviseth liberal things; and by liberal things shall he stand.” Too many point to the failings and vices of the poor. Granted that they are many; but are the rich immaculate? Is it reasonable to look for the exhibition of the highest virtues where a low state of education and the dire disadvantages attending the foul mode of herding together in abodes unfit even for the beasts that perish prevail?

C O N C L U S I O N .

It will be seen from these few pages that the author is under the conviction that he did not throw off the duties of a *citizen* when he became a *clergyman*;^{*} and he would ask, can *any* do this with safety to their own souls, and without doing an injustice to the oppressed? We dare not say with the first oppressor, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” In this view, the author can lay his hand upon his heart and declare that he would not be Primate of all England on the condition of silence. As to our beloved Queen, in the midst of all her greatness and her glory, we cannot restrain the tear of pity that a Sovereign so illustrious for her virtues should see her reign tarnished by deaths from starvation amongst the descendants of a people so happy and prosperous under “Good Queen Bess.” But, other counsels now prevail. The advisers of Her Majesty adopt the principles of Malthus, not those of inspiration.

And who, we would ask, are the creators of wealth? Is it not by the labour of the million that the proprietors of land and large capitalists have been immensely enriched in the present century? While resident for a few months in the North of England, the author has been credibly informed that in the year 1874 alone a single proprietor received an augmentation to his

^{*} This is the Roman Catholic notion—“Les ministres de l’église ne sont pas des citoyens; ce sont des sujets. On ne leur demande pas leurs avis.” Guizot.

income arising chiefly from the increased value of the productive labour on his estate amounting to £600,000. Touching the economic estimate of man as a machine, some useful remarks have just now appeared in *The Times* (March 8, 1876.) Here is the doctrine: "Man is a most useful industrial machine, and has, as such, a value which can be approximately calculated. As long as he produces more than he consumes, so long does he add to the general stock of wealth, and the longer the capability is thought likely to continue, the greater will be the producer's capitalized value. When the season of effectual work is over, and old age—the one incurable malady—has supervened, the prolongation of existence will cease to be an economical benefit. The machine, for some time before it is quite worn out, will cost more to keep going than it will be able to render in return, and the result will be a minus quantity." According to Dr. Farr's estimate of man as a machine, at the age of 25 he is worth £246. This is the *maximum* value of blood and bones in their normal state of organisation. At 80 years he is so deteriorated that he is considerably less than naught. Employing the algebraic symbol, he is put down at—£41, the figures now being of a *negative* value, so appalling to the disciples of Malthus. As to the young man in his prime, let the readers of these pages call to mind the case of the labourer at Shotley, lost for ever to the producing class through the withholding by the parish of a shilling for mutton broth; and, as to used up octogenarians, how do the *Manes* of many a poor old soul's our black list rise up and come forth to appeal us!

It is said that out-door relief is to be withdrawn to gratify the revenge of the country-party against the Agricultural Labourers' Union. O England, how art thou fallen! Some years since there appeared from the pen of Louis Blanc "*La Decadence de l'Angleterre*." Yes, not by invasion, not *ab extra*, but by her own self-destroying hand, England is doomed to degradation and decay.

Bishops, as well as other men, appear to deplore just now the present state of society in England, as if there were indeed "something rotten in the State of Denmark," or, at all events, something wanting to render the social condition of our country—specially as regards the poorest—somewhat more nearly approaching that of the nations in Europe generally. Other peoples, it is true, have their difficulties also from the unequal distribution of property; but in no country beneath the sun is the gulf between the rich and the poor so broad, so deep, so appalling.

The author has endeavoured in these pages to support his views by an array of facts* that he will not attempt to characterise. Let the reader now judge as to the conclusion to which they fairly lead. They have been collected in the course of an experience of considerable duration and extent. Whether he himself has reasoned correctly, or otherwise concerning them, he must now submit to an enlightened public to determine. The motto of some is "*nothing extenuate; nor set down aught in malice*." As to the former of these injunctions, it will be seen at a glance that this has not been violated by him through dread of the displeasure of any person or party; whilst, for the latter, he would say in justice to himself that his conscience does not upbraid him for having infringed upon its requirements in a single instance. If he has been in the least degree caustic in his

* "*Facts are chieft that winna ding*."—Burns. To Political Economists, therefore, with their doctrine, we would fain say "Go to; it helps not—it prevails not. Talk no more."

observations, he must beg that this be attributed to the ardour of his feelings on the subject of the deserving poor and their treatment at the hands of those who profess and call themselves CHRISTIANS. He has no private ends to serve in this matter. True, he feels constrained to defend himself against unjust attacks, on account of his advocacy of those who have none to help them, but this is done mainly for the sake of his adopted clients. Their cause he is convinced is the cause of the Maker of us all. He was early taught, moreover, to commit to memory the words,

"Let all the ends thou aim'st at be
Thy country's, thy God's, and truth's;
Then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
Thou fall'st a blessed martyr."

As to calumny, he certainly conceives that of this he has had his due share, and that during many long years. Still, despite the Spanish proverb :

La mala plaga sana, la mala lingua mata,

he exists, and is able to say with one of old, "persecuted but not killed." "Mata" therefore, *gratias Deo*, does not apply. He might, perhaps, more aptly point to another proverb of these sage Spaniards, and say,

"Mal me quieren mis compadres,
Porque les dijo las verdades ;"

concerning which our Teutonic cousins have an adage still more expressive "Wer die Wahrheit sagt, Kann nirgend Herberge bekommen ;" though possibly, after all, our own "Truth finds foes where it makes none," for point and terseness yields not the palm to either.

But the open-air preacher has not only to be grateful to a kind and ever-watchful Providence for protection from the commonly direful effects of the "mala lingua ;" he has also to acknowledge the goodness of God in his travels. Around and about Naples, at Pompeii on the one side, and Baïæ and Cumæ on the other, including the region so interesting as the scenes of classic story containing the lake Avernus and the Sibyl's cave, he and his dear and only son were saved from "perils by land," (for they did not travel with an escort, or even with guides), whilst at other times, "perils by the sea" in Trafalgar Bay, and again in returning from Tangiers and the coast of Africa, to Gibraltar, were neither few nor small. But, very especially does he feel grateful to the God of his life for the preservation of himself and son, when journeying from the North of Switzerland to Lisbon, setting out as they did from Interlaken the very day the declaration of the war between France and Germany was reverberating among the Bernese Alps. How suspiciously were the travellers eyed—especially the senior one so much more like a Teuton than a Celt—by the Lyonnais, always full of ardour, but now mad with excitement. And then when the dangers of the South of France beneath the Pyrenees, from the Mediterranean on the South to the Bay of Biscay on the North, had been safely passed, together with that interesting part of Spain, the Basque Provinces, so recently and almost from that moment the theatre of a bloody war, how enervating, we had almost said prostrating or even paralysing, was the terrible heat of Madrid ! Even entire days and nights were passed in trains between the Jungfrau and the *embouchure* of the once golden-banked Tagus ; but not an accident of any kind occurred, no, nor a single *contretemps*. And then subsequently among the quickly offended Andalusians in Seville, and Cordova and

Granada this gracious providential protection was no less apparent. How had the travellers been warned of the dangers of travelling in Spain; and yet how groundless was the apprehension! Treat the noble Spaniard with becoming respect and consideration, and he will return your urbanity with usury. But it is altogether beside the object of these pages to ventilate the author's sentiments on nationalities. He merely throws out, *en passant*, thus much to show that, as to preservation in danger, it is no less true than trite that "we are all immortal till our work is done."

We should not advert to these matters, were it not for the fact that it was owing to the unfriendly disposition of "brethren" that the author had to travel so far in quest of duty. It is written "*He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him.*" Had not the "mala lingua" been busy he would never, in all human probability, have beheld those charming varieties in this earthly scene which the Vega about Granada and the Sierra Morana present. He cannot further explain. *Verbum sat.*

Touching the information obtained at Elberfeld, respecting the relief of the poor in that thriving and important place, the author very gratefully acknowledges the kind and valuable assistance of the Reverend Pastor Geyser. This gentleman is a very able scholar and divine, and attracts by his eloquent and powerful discourses very large congregations, the majority being men. Most cheerfully did he assist the author in every way to procure the information he desired; and, in addition to all, most hospitably treated the two visitors to that interesting locality, although they entered it without letters of introduction to any person. In all things then what abundant cause for thankfulness!

LAUS DEO.

The following sermon is committed to the press just as it was preached. When it is * remembered that the preacher at the time it was written and delivered had scarce completed the first year of his ministry, criticism, with its ever-bent bow, will turn aside in search of prey more worthy of its shafts. The discourse is given to the world in order to show how early it was in his ministerial career that the writer of the preceding pages was impressed with a deep sense of the wrongs inflicted on the poor. He sends it forth, too, with the unhesitating belief that, feeble and unworthy of notice as it confessedly is in a literary point of view, it will, nevertheless, if accepted and employed by the Almighty Friend of the poor and helpless—into whose hands he humbly commits it—"accomplish the thing whereto He hath sent it."

* Vide preceding observations; and amongst them the following:—"The sermon which is appended to these observations was elicited by that kind of parochial experience, which an assistant curate, in a large sphere, almost entirely agricultural, might well be expected to acquire. His duties called him "daily from house to house,"—i.e., in this case, from hut to hut, from cottage to cottage, in the various hamlets pertaining to the parish, while it was also in his routine to visit, at least once in the week, the Union Poor-House. At the time he preached the sermon he had laboured thus in the parish, from the close of one Lent to the commencement of another. He will not withhold from his readers the fact, that this was the first year of his ministry, though on the other hand he would observe that he did not take Holy Orders till his experience of mankind had been augmented by some five or six years, beyond the period at which most persons in the Church of England enter upon their sacred functions. Though a tyro, then, in the ministry, he was not so unacquainted with the scene of it—the world—as the diaconate in general. However, nine years more—the number is accidental, and by no means to be received in the Horatian use—have been permitted to pass, during which, that experience both in the world and in the ministry has had time to accumulate, before he has permitted his sermon on that occasion to see the light. Throughout this interval he has steadily kept in view and considered in all their bearings the important subjects which are treated of—most imperfectly he is fully ready to admit—in this discourse. He has weighed from time to time in the balances of the sanctuary, Poor Law enactments themselves, and what is still more important, because of its endless variations, the practical application of these enactments in the diversified cases of the unfortunate, but, for the most part, very deserving poor. After, then, a ten years close observation of the treatment to which the poor of this otherwise happy and most prosperous country are subjected, he feels himself constrained to acknowledge that that treatment is altogether unworthy of such as profess and call themselves Christians."

"The new Poor Law is a compound of suspicion and selfishness. It is based upon the malignant hypothesis that there is no such feeling among the poor as honest pride in self-support and a state of independence. It regards every applicant for relief as *IPSO FACTO*—a person of doubtful character. It will allow none to be proper objects for relief but those who are wholly destitute, while such as are reduced to this unhappy condition it considers as framers of their own fortune and arbiters of their own fate. Still, the feeling of the country being in favour of parochial assistance of some sort, it dares not entirely ignore the claim of the poor to relief; but it is resolved that that relief shall be *in itself* the veriest modicum, and obtained only upon the most distasteful conditions."

A LENTEN HOMILY.

Is not this the fast that I have chosen ? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke !

Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out of house ? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him ; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh.

58 chap. Isaiah, v. 6 and 7.

Through the kind providence of God, my brethren, we have been spared to enter on another Lent—a season in which our Church calls all her professing members to the great duties of self-examination and repentance. On the first day of this season of humiliation, sinners of every description are solemnly exhorted to turn to the Lord with fasting, and weeping, and mourning. But we are doubtless addressing many who have been reminded of the call of God and the Church to these duties, year after year, as regularly, it may be, as the season has returned. The question therefore is, with respect to these—have they obeyed the call ? Have they become possessed of that repentance which needeth not to be repented of ? Alas ! many, very many, we fear, have not ; or why that striking resemblance of character on their part to that of the Israelites in the prophet Isaiah's day ? But let us proceed to the careful consideration of the character, as portrayed by the prophet, in the chapter before us ; and God grant that, through the Holy Spirit's application of the subject to our hearts, the consideration of it may not be in vain.*

We find in the opening of the chapter, that the prophet has his commission and charge renewed, to reprove the sinners in Zion, particularly the hypocrites, and to set their sins before them. He is thus solemnly commissioned to go forth and speak on behalf of God. "Cry aloud, spare not : lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show My people their transgressions, and the House of Jacob their sins." And let us carefully remember that this commission has never been withdrawn from those who are ambassadors for God. Wherever sin and sinners are found, there must the servants of the most high God "cry aloud and spare not," for the vows of God are upon them. Hear His own solemn charge to Ezekiel, and through Him to all succeeding preachers of His Truth, "O son of man I have set thee a watchman unto the House of Israel ; thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them of Me." "Woe is unto me," says St. Paul, "if I preach not the Gospel." Now, against the terror of the word in the prophet's time, the rich who had become hard-hearted and oppressive, thought to shelter themselves with their external performances, particularly their fastings. The prophet, therefore, here shows them that their devotions would not entitle them to peace, while the conduct of their lives was so at variance with God's law ; and, in short, that no external signs of penitence would avail them, while there were wanting the internal graces of faith, and holiness, and charity. We purpose to consider more particularly the prophet's instructions concerning the nature of a true fast. Observe then, brethren, that he must first of all deal plainly and faithfully with them. He must first reprove them for their sins,

* Many of the remarks in the exegetical portion of this discourse may be found in the excellent commentary of Matthew Henry.

and set those sins in order before their eyes. Neither may their high name and character screen them from this censure. Though the people of God and the House of Jacob, they are not to have smooth things prophesied unto them; for, as judgment often begins at the House of God, so must the denunciations of God's judgments be first heard there. The very people that are exalted to Heaven by their privileges, must, on that very account, if those privileges are unimproved by them, be threatened with being cast down to Hell. Moreover, this must be done in good earnest; the minister of God must "cry aloud and spare not," that is, he is not to allow those whom he is sent to rebuke to escape without censure; or, is he to touch them with his reproofs, as if he were afraid of hurting them, but he must search the wound to the bottom; no, nor let him spare himself or his own pains. Though he spend his strength and waste his spirits, though he get their ill will by it, and himself an ill name, yet he must not spare.

We may remark, too, in the next place, that the prophet must, notwithstanding his divinely-commissioned rebuke acknowledge how very good they seemed to be—"yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways as a nation, that did righteousness and forsook not the ordinance of their God; they ask of me the ordinances of justice, they take delight in approaching to God." When he proceeded to show them their transgressions, they pleaded that they could see no transgressions which they were guilty of; for they were diligent and constant in attending on the worship of God; and what more would he have of them? Now observe, he owns the fact, i.e., that they "had a form of godliness"—"yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God; they ask of me the ordinances of justice, they take delight in approaching God." Now, who is there among us, at hearing these words, whose breast does not give place to the reflection—How far may men go towards Heaven, and yet come short: nay, may go to Hell with a good reputation! For, first of all, God admits that they seek Him daily. They go to Church; are very constant in their devotions. Next, they love to hear the preaching of God's word: "they delight to know my ways" as Herod who heard John gladly. Further, they seem to be in their element when they are at their devotions; "they delight in approaching to God"—again, they appear anxious to be instructed in the ways of God: "they ask of me the ordinances of justice;" and then, finally, they pass in the world for a peculiar people zealous of good works; for it is acknowledged that "they are as a nation that did righteousness and forsook not the ordinances of their God." But notwithstanding all this, what is the command of the most High? "Shew my people their transgressions, and the House of Jacob their sins;" yes, my brethren, because men profess to know and obey God for this very reason—show them their sins; show them how much, by this very circumstance, they aggravate their sins; how that by these pharisaical observances "they are two-fold more the children of Hell than before" they professed to know God. Brethren, it is an awful truth, but it is a truth, that if men are not the better for their religion they are the worse; if it does not soften their hearts, it renders them more obdurate; if it does not expand those hearts it contracts them: and thus are they one degree more the children of Hell than before; while the guilt they incur by insulting the Majesty of Heaven by their mock obedience constitutes their adoption into the family of Satan in the other degree, and thus are they two-fold more the children of Hell than before. But Pharisees remonstrate against this—as Cain, they are angry with God for not accepting their offering. "Wherefore have we fasted say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul and thou takest no knowledge?" These people—and be it remembered the Lord by the prophet is speaking of the nation, so general had their hypocrisy become—these people having gone about, says a pious commentator, to put a cheat upon God by their external services, here go about to pick a quarrel with God for not being pleased with their services, as if he had not done fairly or justly by them. But let God himself testify against them in reply. "Behold, says he, in the day

of your fast ye find pleasure and exact all your labours." My brethren, let me freely speak unto you on these words. I know not how you may receive them; but I freely confess that I cannot read them without perceiving with the utmost pain that they do but too accurately describe the reigning sins of our own country at this moment—hypocrisy and oppression. We may not wonder at their being coupled together as of old. If man be not just with God, he will not be just towards his fellow man. Let men, who are strangers to *true* religion, boast as they will of giving all their due, nothing is more untrue; and one plain, but cogent reason can be given for this—they do not any more perceive their duty towards their neighbour, then they do their duty towards God, without the light of God's spirit shining into their hearts. Were it otherwise, would it have been thus with these Israelites in Isaiah's day? Were it otherwise, would it be thus in our own day? Were it otherwise, should we hear so many in reply to the cries of the needy, adopt the words of Pharaoh, and say, "ye are idle, ye are idle." Can any man whose eyes and heart the Lord hath opened, deny that the poor are grievously oppressed? God here reproves the children of Israel for "exacting all their labours;" but I am bold to say that amongst us, not only are they whom poverty has brought low, treated with excessive rigour; not only are there exacted from them all their labours, and in some instances, even with the oft-repeated violation of this sacred day of rest, but there is rife withal, the same sin which called forth the denunciations of God's anger by St. James. Let us hear both the denunciations of God's wrath and the charge which provoked them. "Go to, now ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered: and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire; ye have heaped treasure together for the last days." Thus far the threatened doom; now for the charge. "Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth"—not that the wages for which the agreement was made between master and servant were withheld; but that they had made hard bargains with them; had refused them an adequate remuneration for their toil; and that they had done this in order that they might have more to lavish on their own worldly pleasures, or to gratify their covetousness.

And now, let me ask, is there so little of worldliness, is there so little of covetousness, is there so little of consequent suffering among the poor, that the ministers of God in this our day should refrain from repeating both the charge and the threatened judgment? To pass by the worldliness and covetousness of the age, it is more to our purpose to notice the fact that persons are to be found who are suffering bodily ailments arising from the defect of their diet, both as to quantity and quality; and these among the families of the industrious. Whether this arises from a constant inadequacy of the means of support, where there is a numerous family or through a want of employment and its consequent destitution, which, some of the most steady and careful at times experience, I shall not stop to inquire. It is enough to state the fact, of which any unprejudiced, disinterested person may soon be convinced that such want is not uncommon, even among the industrious; among those who are willing cheerfully to give their entire strength, for the support of themselves and family. Is not every industrious man entitled, yes, entitled, however disagreeably the word may sound to some, to at least a subsistence for himself and children, and such a subsistence as shall render him physically capable of the labour required of him, and enable him to maintain his children in health? If a minister of religion be refused a hearing for this, let a calm and judicious writer on moral duties be heard, and one who can be suspected of no effeminate leaning to the side of humanity. * He writes thus:—"The poor have a claim founded in the law of nature, which may be thus explained: All things were originally common, no one being able to produce a *charter from Heaven*, had any better title to a possession than his next neighbour. There were reasons for mankind's agreeing upon a separation of this

* Paley's Moral Philosophy, chap. v.

common fund ; and God, for these reasons is presumed to have ratified it." And now mark : " But this separation was made and consented to upon the expectation and condition that everyone should have left a *sufficiency for his subsistence, or the means of procuring it* ; and, therefore, when the partition of property is rigidly maintained against the claims of indigence and distress, it is maintained in opposition to the intention of those who made it, and to His, who is the Supreme Proprietor of every thing, and who has filled the world with plenteousness, for the sustentation and comfort of all whom he sends into it." Such, my brethren, are conclusions deduced from the law of nature ; such the demands of natural religion merely, but short as they fall of the standard of revealed truth, and, in particular, of the requirements of the Christian code, who will venture to deny that that they far surpass in many instances the commonly professed sentiments and practice of many calling themselves Christians ?

Insulted, then, by that hypocrisy, which, alas, false professors of religion in every age since, have been found to follow, God indignantly asks of such men, when they appear before him, " Is it such a fast that I have chosen ; a day for a man to afflict his soul ? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him ? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord ? " Here, my brethren, we are taught as plainly as words can teach us that no mere external services, while the heart and the life are not right with God, can be accepted : that to mortify the body a little, while the body of sin remains untouched, is no more than a solemn mockery of the great Searcher of hearts ; that to offer that which doth cost us nothing, to Him who will have mercy and not sacrifice, while we are proud, and selfish, and covetous, brings upon ourselves a curse, and not a blessing.

Having then thus far gathered by the light, more particularly which the context affords, what is not an acceptable fast to the Lord, proceed we now to consider briefly the words in which a true fast is described. " Is not this the fast that I have chosen ? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke ? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house ? When thou seest the naked that thou cover him ; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh ! " Now, these words are so plain, that they need no comment. None can fail to perceive the great duties they inculcate. And who that knows his Bible, knows not also that almost every page of its contents, teaches us either expressly or incidentally, the never-to-be-forgotten duties of Christian benevolence and charity ? As to quotations, which might be gathered from every part of God's Word, I do not hesitate to affirm that I could employ hours in merely reciting sentences, paragraphs, parables, and sermons, comprising whole chapters, which directly relate to these duties. But why is this, my brethren ? Is it not because God, who gave us this revelation,—because " He who made man, knows what is in man," knows that deep-rooted selfishness which so spreads its ramifications through the heart, that there can scarcely be found a real, operative concern for a fellow-creature, as a fellow creature ? We may, indeed, love those that love us, but that might soon be proved to be but a refined selfishness, and has been declared by the Saviour to be no more than the worst of mankind do, and therefore no standard of duty for his disciples. Man's selfishness, then, is the true cause of the many precepts on charity we find in God's Word.

One of the two great commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets is this : Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself ; " yes, Christian brethren," says an excellent divine, thou shalt love him in spite of his weaknesses, in spite of his imperfections, in spite of his transgressions, because, like thee, he was made in the image of his Creator ; because, in searching among the ruins of his greatness, thou wilt discover that " living soul" which bears testimony to his worth ; because he is destined, like thyself, to immortality ; because it was for him as well as for thee that the Son of the Highest quitted the habitation of His glory to die upon Mount Calvary. Thou shalt love thy fellow-man, in spite of his injustice to thyself, because it is becoming in thee, to whom

so much has been forgiven to forgive offences ; generous, to love those who have behaved to us as enemies ; excellent to cultivate honourable feelings. Thou shalt love him, because love is the very life of the Christian ; because the fire of affection purifies the heart, and diffuses a brightness over existence ; and because the God of love, who has shown such boundless love for mankind, desires to see them united among themselves, and linked to each other in one great bond of affection." Such, then, is one of the two great leading precepts of the Gospel, and such the reasons for it. But to what extent is it obeyed ? My brethren, let me freely declare to you my own deep-rooted convictions on this subject, after carefully laying together side by side the precepts of Christianity, with the generally allowed practice of professing Christians, and I make this declaration in the sight of God, who knoweth the heart. I am more painfully impressed with the extreme neglect of numbers, who are constantly sitting under the sound of the Gospel, in reference to the duty to which we are exhorted in the next, than with all and every other discrepancy between profession and practice that can be named. One reason to be assigned for this gross disregard of the social duties of Christianity seems to be, that a kind of tacit consent to lower the standard of practice in this respect has long almost universally prevailed. Most persons look on the not-to-be-mistaken commands of the Bible respecting the duty of self-denying charity, as we are wont to do on some old laws in the Statute Book, which, though unrepealed, are now no longer in force, and are consulted at any time, not for direction in any doubt that may arise, but only to gratify curiosity. The change which human laws are constantly undergoing may possibly have gone far to produce this effect. But though men and manners may change ; though expediency with its short-sighted, but still plausible, arguments against enactments more merciful than were compatible with the selfish views of the objectors may plead ; though new notions concerning a legal provision for the poor may prevail, and human laws, in consequence, become altered ; yet, the divine law, like its author, remains unchangeably the same ; it is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever ; and that law peremptorily demands of every soul amongst us, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

But the vices of the poor, are urged as an objection to any extensive and persevering efforts on their behalf. Are the poor then expected to be immaculate ? Are they alone inexcusable for their errors, remaining, as many of them do, in great ignorance, because unable, through that excessive indigence, which the oppression I am denouncing has produced, to avail themselves of the instruction offered them ? Is it fair, we ask, under such circumstances, to expect that they should be free from every stain of vice ? And yet this seems to be looked for by many. We know that some laudable efforts have been made from time to time to provide instruction ; but, if the poor are not in circumstances to enable them to avail themselves of it, what is effected—what we mean, so far as they are concerned who cannot embrace the offer ? It is true, many do avail themselves of the advantages offered ; so far, good is effected ; but, at the same time, many, very many, cannot ; and what reason, my brethren, will you give at the Day of Judgment, why they could not ?

To shew you, my hearers, the judgment of our church, with respect to the duties incalculated in the next, let me refer you to one or two portions of the service for the first day of Lent. In it you are called upon to say, "Amen," before God and the congregation, to these words, "Cursed is he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, the fatherless, and widow." And again ; "Cursed are the unmerciful, covetous persons, and so on." We are afterwards exhorted to beware of despising God's counsel and reminded of the time of justice, in these words. O terrible voice of most just judgment, which shall be pronounced upon them when it shall be said unto them "go ye cursed into the fire everlasting, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." Now, what, let us enquire, will be the rule of judgment at the dread tribunal, and who the condemned persons, on whom this *most just judgment*, as it is most justly denominated in the Communion Service, *will fall*. The words you may find in the 25th of St. Matthew, where, also, you will find that this terrible judgment is not denounced against murderers, or

adulterers, or blasphemers; but against those who, while enjoying the good things which God had given them in their life time, had neglected to search out the poor and the destitute, and to administer to their necessities. And here let me remark that two or three plain texts of Scripture, adduced in proof of any point of doctrine, are generally considered decisive, and we look upon the man that refuses his assent to the doctrine in question, after such evidence, as removed by a few steps only from infidelity. It is well that we are thus alive to the importance of maintaining the true standard of our *doctrine*; but why should we be less sensitive with respect to the standard of christian *practice*? And let us remember, after all, that our life is to be the test of our creed; that we are to shew what our christianity is, by what our christianity does. There must be some secret infidelity, that is eating at the very core of all your christianity, if you have not a heart to defend the cause of the poor and needy, and, as far as in you lies, relieve their necessities. Many seem to think that the duties of active benevolence are incumbent on some few only, say their ministers for instance, and that they themselves are entirely relieved of all responsibility on this score. Away with the thought I beseech you. Every christian, however poor, must be not only a benevolent, but a beneficent man;—must act, as well as think, with kindness towards his more destitute brethren. The cup of cold water given in the name of a disciple proves this. Besides, it is not for a few individuals, however affluent, to relieve the wants of a multitude. We are required, each and all to be charitable, and the rule to be observed, is “according to the ability which God giveth.” And as many fall into the error of supposing that some few only are responsible for all that is to be done in the charitable work of administering to the wants of the distressed, so also is the mistake no less prevalent, that, if oppression takes place, they are not implicated in the guilt, unless they are the immediate actors, when, it may be, the individual looked upon as the chief actor, is neither more nor less than a delegated instrument acting in and by their authority. And let me entreat you to remember, that in thus bringing before you the cause of many industrious, and deserving, but deeply suffering, poor,—the cause of the widow and the fatherless, the cause of the destitute and the afflicted,—we do it with the conviction, that if ever they are to be materially benefited, this happy result will emanate from yourselves as a body; we mean, for instance, from an increase of charitable and christian sentiments on the subject generally. It is our sincere opinion, and we feel ourselves constrained to state it, that no scheme of benevolence, however well planned, however well acted out, can ever relieve half the distress which must always be the result of such selfishness, and cruelty, and oppression, as now prevail. Besides, how few, comparatively, become subscribers to charities of any kind, while the evil which we now describe, spreads its ramifications through society generally; to meet and remove an evil of such an extent, a more liberal feeling must arise and prevail among all classes.

And now, perhaps some may say to all this, what have I done? Nothing, nothing at all, may be the true reply; what then? Are you guiltless? By no means. That you have done nothing, when so much was to be done, constitutes in your case the very ground of the charge which God now prepares against you. The christian dares not to be silent and useless, when his divine master would have him to raise his voice on high, and to be up and doing. He dares not hold his peace, when the religion of his Saviour Christ is grossly misrepresented by the every-day conduct of his professed followers. Let all remember this; and that to have been silent spectators of evil will not screen them from vengeance in the great day of accounts.

In conclusion.—My brethren, we are bound to preach to you the whole gospel. We must tell you of its duties, as well as of its privileges. We must tell you of the sacrifice God expects you to make for him, no less than of the sacrifice he has made for you. We must declare to you what the self-denying religion of the Saviour demands, imperatively demands, that you may learn by your compliance or non-compliance, whether or no you have part or lot in the matter. And for your own soul's sakes, we entreat you not to compel us to ask hereafter with St. Paul, “Am I become your enemy because I tell you the truth? But God grant.

that the truth may be heard and received, and that it may set you free. We would beseech you to think and act now, as you will wish to have thought and acted when we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to be judged according to our works. Then and there you will not think harshly of me for endeavouring, on this occasion, to make the word of God profitable for rebuke; nay, more, if you will now turn to God through that living way which God has consecrated for the return of sinners to himself, and keep the true fast which God requires you shall be infinitely repaid even here; for hear the promise which follows close upon the text, "If thou take away from the midst of thee, the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon day."

And can we, brethren, can we shew any degree of kindness to our fellow-men, which is not infinitely surpassed by that of which we ourselves are the subjects? Dare we act the cruel part of the fellow servant in the parable, without half the excuse to plead. Those whose hearts and consciences assure them that they have had much given and forgiven them cannot; and such must be the assurance of every true christian. Seek then, my brethren, to have this assurance while you may. Believe me, the time is fast approaching when you would give worlds for it. While seeking it, take good care lest the sins against which you are warned in the chapter we have been considering, be the insuperable obstacle to your attaining this blessing. And remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how that loving Saviour declared "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Yes, it is a blessed thing indeed to receive Christ Jesus the Lord, and all that untold treasure that He brings with Him into the soul; but it is more blessed still to do good and to dispense blessings to others, for we thus become like God himself. This is that perfection in love to which the Saviour exhorts us in His Sermon on the mount; this, that charity without which, all our doings are nothing worth; this, that benevolent feeling of the soul, which, when it springs from gratitude to God for His unspeakable gift, is the "fulfilling of the law."

THE WRONGS OF THE POOR.

A Sermon,

BY THE

REV. RICHARD HIBBS, M.A.,

PREACHED IN ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH, BETHNAL GREEN, ON

SUNDAY EVENING, AUGUST 7, 1859.

With special reference to the late John Blake, aged 73 years, and blind, who committed self-destruction that he might not be taken to the Union Workhouse.*

"Hear ye now what the Lord saith."—Micah vi. 1.

In calling our fellow-sinners to the house of God on any special occasion, like the present, we wish it to be well understood that it is with the view of solemnly urging upon them the authority of that Word, which Christ himself assures us shall judge us at the last day. Hence, Christian friends and brethren, one and all of those who hear me this day, as ministers of the Word, we are messengers to you from the Lord God of Hosts. Oh! had we nothing to bring before you but words out of our own heart, that heart would sink within us on some occasions; our tongue would forget its cunning, and those words would fail of utterance. But when we call to mind our high commission, which runs thus—"Thou shalt speak my words unto them, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear;" when we further reflect, that the word of God is like its omnipresent and omnipotent Author, "quick and powerful," that is, full of life and energy, possessing also such penetrative force as at once to convince us that it bears witness for him, "to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid," according to His own express declaration concerning it—"Is not My word like a fire, saith the Lord, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?"—when, I say, we remember that our position is that of God's witnesses—"Ye are My witnesses—saith the Lord"—then we thank God and take courage; then we feel that we are not going this warfare against Mammon at our own cost; then we are assured, that whatever obloquy and opposition we may provoke, or whatever worldly loss we may incur, He whose honour alone we deem worth seeking, and who is the whole and sole proprietor of any created thing, is graciously saying—"Put that to Mine account, I will repay thee,"—or, as being more closely upon the subject which is about to occupy our attention—"He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord; and look, what he layeth out, shall be paid him again."

"Hear ye, then, what the Lord saith," both in the Old and New Testaments, as it regards His concern for the poor, and the care He has taken at all times to make known to His professing people their duty in respect of the destitute and needy. And here, let me take occasion to observe, is the point which I feel assured, "you yourselves being the judges," you will admit to be the main one to be prominently urged as the true and proper improvement of the painful event which, as announced, is the occasion of this discourse. I mean that poor blind man's death which was effected by his own self-destroying-hand. Undoubtedly, the subject presents itself to us in two aspects. It is

* Mr Hibbs, when making known this case to the public, was privately met with the objection, that the antipathy of poor Blake was the result of an unfounded prejudice against the Union, and that, had he entered it, he would have been grateful for the comfort of such an asylum. But what, in less than a month after, took place? Why, the newspapers state that a poor old weaver, fourscore years old, was necessitated, in his extreme destitution, to make experience of the tender mercies of Bethnal Green Union. But, alas! in the workhouse, this unhappy man destroyed himself by strangulation very shortly after his admission. The person, in whose house the blind suicide lodged, states that she is certain that the latter would have committed the act of self-destruction as soon as the opportunity presented itself, had he been forced within the dreaded walls.

clear the suicide was committed from an abhorrence of the Union. The motive of such an act should surely, therefore, cause us to consider whether the provision for the worn-out honest poor be indeed such as it ought to be; which we may justly suspect when many are found to prefer strangling rather than life—to commit self-murder rather than drag out life on such conditions. The motive, then, of this awful act, should lead us all to “consider our ways” touching our treatment of the poor; but then the act itself of suicide is so manifestly opposed to God’s revealed will, that here the painful subject pre-sents itself to us in another and very different aspect. But before examining the case itself, let us “hear now what the Lord saith” concerning His will and our duty as a people professing to know God, on the subject of caring for the poor.

Until the time of Moses, there was little need of laws and institutions in behoof of the poor. But when the people had become numerous, and were about to settle in the promised land, although it was one flowing with milk and honey, we find that their merciful Preserver, after delivering them out of the hand of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, inspired Moses, whom He had raised up to be their deliverer, to frame such laws and found such institutions as should show in all ages that He desired them all, poor and rich, to regard one another as children of one common Father. He expressly commanded them to be merciful and compassionate; and, as if He had resolved to test their obedience in this way throughout the period of their probation, He told them that “the poor should never cease out of the land.” Not that those who were once poor were always to be poor, but that there should always be some poor. For in the year of jubilee, those who through misfortune and poverty had been compelled to alienate the inheritance of their fathers, had those inheritances restored to them. Hence, no serfdom, or perpetual slavery was to be found amongst them. No doubt the selfishness of the natural heart, then as now, either found means to nullify these merciful institutions, or openly to contravene them with impunity. Still, throughout their generations, how were prophets and righteous men raised up to go among them with their lives in their hands, to remonstrate with them in the name of their offended God, for their hard-hearted oppressions and covetousness! How do the Psalms of David, and others, expose and reprobate these sins, which were even then, alas! but too rife! Nor were those excused who pretended ignorance of the oppression of others. To such this searching word was addressed—“If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? And shall He not render to every man according to his works?” But notwithstanding these remonstrances, their heart still went after their covetousness; and so offensive did this become to Him who had declared that “He that despiseth the poor contemneth his Maker,” in the times of Isaiah and Jeremiah, that those prophets were specially raised up to foretell the sorest judgments in consequence. Nothing can be plainer than that the very burden of these faithful messengers to the fore-doomed people was, God’s controversy with them for their oppression. What an awful picture does the first chapter of the former prophet present in this respect! They are complained of as “a people laden with iniquity—a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters.” “The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.” Though corruption was thus at the very core, and spreading like leaven through all the body politic, yet was this “sinful nation” as externally good and full of fair seeming “as a nation that *did* righteousness and forsook not the ordinances of their God,” those humane institutions which were founded for the benefit of their poorer brethren, of which we were speaking just now. But, thus morally degenerate, they are told by the bold prophet, in the name of his God that the multitude of their sacrifices is to no purpose. They are bidden to “bring no more vain oblation;” that very “incense is an abomination;” their “solemn meeting” iniquity; their “new moons” and “feasts” nothing less than disgusting. And to render all unmistakable as to the cause of the Divine displea-

sure, it is added, "And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide Mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear; your hands are full of blood." Here then is the reason, and therefore this counsel follows—"Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before Mine eyes; cease to do evil: learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve," or rather *righten* "the oppressed; judge the fatherless," that is, do them justice; "plead for the widow."

Now, lest it should be thought, that though the Word of God is true and infallible, yet that in the exhibition of it there is too much of the fallible interpreter, I will now read you, my hearers, a passage from the same prophet without any comment of my own. You find it in the fifty-eighth chapter of the prophet Isaiah, from the fourth to the seventh verse—"Behold ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?"

No less faithful was the testimony of Jeremiah, which so incensed the chief civil ruler of the day that he threw the faithful prophet into prison, and had his feet made fast in the stocks. The old Testament, in fact, is characterized by a succession of preachers of righteousness; of men who taught the people not only to "do justly," but also, "to love mercy." And they based the duty of charity on the ground of their possessing a common origin, a common humanity; nay, one and the same paternity. Thus, to take the last of the prophet, who thus remonstrates with the people:—"Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?" And, if we pass to the New Testament, here we find the duty of charity as much more strongly urged and insisted upon, as it is grounded upon still more exalted motives. We have seen, that hitherto, up to the sealing of the prophecy of the former revelation, the merciful Creator enjoined on His people an active sympathy with one another on the ground of their common brotherhood. But when we pass to the later dispensation, to the time when it was declared that "life and immortality were brought to light by the Gospel;" when

"The ransom was paid down,
Heaven's inexhaustible exhausted fund,
A price, all price beyond;"

then love and good works were shown to be so much the more imperative, as the revelation of *mercy* was more complete. As love on the part of God is the characteristic feature of the Gospel, so the new commandment which Christ himself gave, called by some the eleventh commandment, is love. To give instances of the teaching of the Lord and His apostles, touching this, can be by no means necessary in a day when few are found in our churches so poor that they cannot purchase a New Testament, or so uneducated that they cannot read its contents when obtained. But what I would observe is, that the duties of active benevolence and of sympathy with the distressed are now based upon the ground of our common redemption. Let us take just one or two texts which are full and express upon the point. Look, my brethren, at the first epistle of John, the third chapter, to learn with what energy of thought and expression the apostles pressed home a deep and practical consideration for others. "Hereby," he writes, "perceive we the love of God, because He laid down His life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. But whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of

compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" The New Testament writers are perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment as to this. They altogether and always insist upon such an evidence of faith, as the object itself of faith—namely love. Thus, St. James, when exposing a species of antinomianism already springing up in the Christian church, indignant asks—"If a brother or a sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them. Depart in peace, be ye warned and filled, notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit? Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone." Nor is there any real difference between the teaching of those apostles and that of St. Paul or St. Peter. The former, in his preaching, specially called attention to a remarkable saying of the Lord Christ, which is nowhere recorded in the Gospels, as if for the purpose of thus giving it a peculiar prominence. He thus introduced it when taking his farewell of some of his hearers—"I have coveted no man's silver or gold, or apparel. Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive'—words which probably led the great dramatist to write—

"Mercy blesseth him that gives, and him that takes."

But here was advice for pastors; such, if obedient to that counsel, could indeed say, "We seek not yours, but you;" whilst with many now it is just the reverse, not you, but yours; never so much at seeing the flock so long as they can but get the fleece. Besides, it was Paul, we should remember, who declared, "If any man provide not for his own, specially those of his own household"—these, as the context shews, were the poor, and those dependent upon them—viz., widows—"he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Just as St. James, not believing even in the existence of faith in the heart, however it may be found upon the lip, which is not accompanied by love and good works. Whilst Peter, to complete the testimony from the sacred college of the founders of our most benevolent as well as most holy religion, when describing believers as obeying the truth, and purifying their souls, is careful to observe, that the necessary accompaniment is "unfeigned love of the brethren." Thus, then, Christian friends and brethren, would we "hear now what the Lord saith" by the mouth of all His prophets and apostles, as well as by the lips of His blessed Son; we find that all of them conclude that they who have believed God will be careful to maintain good works, that is, that faith, if it is real, will work by love, that we shall love and do good to our fellow sinners as redeemed unto God by the same precious blood, and as fellow-heirs with us of eternal life.

The divine will, therefore, since the Bible is the revealer of that will, is now clearly ascertained as it regards the care of the poor and needy. That will is, that "the strong are to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves," and that those who bear the name of Christ be animated with the mind of Christ, who specially makes known to us that the lowest and weakest are His brethren and our brethren, and that what is done to them He regards as done to Himself.

The question then arises, are we as a professedly Christian country, acknowledging, or repudiating this duty? Now had the theories of many political economists altogether prevailed about the time of the passing of the New Poor Law, the claims of the Bible touching the poor would have been completely set aside. Their teaching at that period is thus described in the Popular Cyclopædia—"The economists of the new school (as it is sometimes called), namely, that of Malthus, Mr Ricardo, Mr M'Culloch, and others, say that they (that is, the distressed, both parents and children just before referred to) are to be abandoned to starvation." Upon this, the reviewer thus remarks—"But a doctrine so abhorrent to our nature is only a hideous theory, which cannot enter into the laws or habits of any people, until human nature shall be sunk

into brutal hard-heartedness." Would we ascertain the spirit of the New Poor Law enactments, we should bear in mind the fact, that many of those writers on political economy, to whose merciless labours the passing of the New Law is justly ascribed, entertained this monstrous theory of abandoning the poor to starvation. The theory, however, was not adopted, but a kind of compromise was effected. The poor were to have a claim; but if any of them persisted in making it, relief should be afforded only on such absolutely distasteful terms as would make them speedily repent of having made the claim. Parishes were to be united, and large buildings erected, somewhat after the model of penitentiaries or prisons, where the restraint and discipline, aided by a half starving dietary, might be such as to make the inmates feel that poverty is more culpable than crime, in the same proportion as the dietary of a union is inferior to that of a prison. But there must be a show of justice in all this; hence Guardians must be appointed; but who are these Guardians in most instances? Why, just those persons in every parish who are most largely interested in keeping down the rates. Suppose, however, some of them, and to their honour be it spoken, some such have been found, some of them, despite their own pecuniary interest, have stood upon the side of suffering humanity from time to time. What now is done? Is the rigour of the system abated? Does mercy now prevail? Not at all. These humane guardians are speedily taught by their masters, the Poor Law Commissioners, that their hearts are better than their heads, and that the latter are the best judges as to the discipline to which honest poverty must be submitted. The guardians who had stood up for a more Christian state of things, now, either resign or submit, and the rigorous treatment is perpetuated, soon after probably to be intensified."

Christian friends and brethren, we are no strangers to these things, as we doubt not, we shall be able to convince you presently. Eighteen years have now passed since, as a minister of the merciful Saviour of all men, I felt and took a lively interest in this question, which was no more than my duty, to which I stood solemnly pledged at my ordination.

Now, if this brief view of the Poor Law and Union Houses is correct in the main, it is no wonder that the deserving poor of both sexes entertain a dread of them; nay, we can scarce avoid the conclusion, that it was intended to inspire them with such a dread. Hence, whatever may be said about the comparative comfort of some unions—and I have been credibly informed, that the one for this parish bears a character for humanity which others do not—the system, speaking generally, is such, that aged and impotent persons, who are conscious in themselves that they have deserved a better and altogether different treatment from their parish and nation, not unfrequently prefer the endurance of the direst extremities, rather than accept such relief. Now, John Blake, who had seen his threescore years and ten, and more, and became quite blind, so that he had to be led by the hand to take his seat within these sacred walls, which I am informed he was in the habit of doing three times a day, appears to have entertained a dread, absolutely invincible of the parish asylum. As he was no stranger in the parish, he had no doubt obtained correct information as to what he was to expect in the union. He had been a light porter in the city, and when from the failure of sight he had been compelled to relinquish that avocation, his former employers, from a regard, I suppose, for his past services, and out of respect for his character generally, combined together to raise a weekly pension for his support, to save him from the dreaded union house. Some portion, however, of this pecuniary assistance had of late been withdrawn, but from no fault whatever, it would appear, of the pensioner himself. His only fault it seems was that he lived too long for his friends; a discovery that would necessarily pain most acutely an independent spirit, and one conscious of well-doing, and therefore of deserving well. Such was the Roman-like, such the heroic virtue, of this man, that he has been known to live upon a half-penny worth of bread a day in order to keep himself neat and clean. No doubt he felt that

cleanliness is next to godliness. As to drink, nothing stronger or more inebriating than coffee passed his lips. The doorway of neither gin palace nor beer-shop was darkened by John Blake. If it is true, in general, that

"Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long."

how remarkably was it the case with this poor blind man, turned of seventy, and failing in health! Why, as to the little he wanted, methinks it would harrow up your soul to know all upon this subject were it accurately portrayed to you; the little room in which, and the little carefully joined ends of rope by which this poor man so determinedly and rudely ejected his harassed spirit from its darkened tenement of clay. Had the place been suitable for such an exhibition, I would have shown you, Christian friends and brethren, those little ends of rope of various sizes and capabilities of tension, so ingeniously and elaborately, and withal so securely united by those fingers which had no eyes to direct them. And then, so confined was the space for the execution of this horrifying deed, that the entire body was not even suspended; for there was no beam to support those knotted ropes' ends, but the strangling was effected by so adjusting them between doors, that the weight of the body drew the fatal noose together, though there was not space for the legs to swing. What a picture have we here of the world's begrudging, when it is the will of his Creator, for the purpose of trying thereby his fellow men, that a poor working man should survive the power of amassing wealth for his employers; what a vivid picture, I repeat, of the world's begrudging, both in the curved-up lifeless body for want of space, and in the instrument of destruction, which so joined, so uneven, could not be sold even for old rope!

But as the friends of humanity are sometimes charged with taking up cases of this kind upon imperfect, or even partial information, I think it right to state that as soon as I became acquainted with this occurrence, which was last Tuesday morning, I addressed a letter upon the subject to some of the daily papers: most of them, of course, rejected the communication. I say of course, advisedly, for I have found repeatedly, that truth and fact, if of a distasteful character, are often purposely kept out of sight by a large portion of the press. However, the *Morning Advertiser* inserted my letter entire, and the *Morning Star* in part. I will read the letter from the former of these, which appeared in Wednesday's number, and as no part of it has been challenged, you will, with me no doubt, regard the statements it contains as admitted fact—

It should be remarked, in the first brief notice which appeared in some of the newspapers, and of the existence of which I was not aware when I first wrote, it was stated that John Blake had received parochial relief; but the party who had the care of him has assured me that this is a mistake; that is, she asserts that all she asked, and all she obtained, was a doctor for him. It is just possible that this was what was meant by the word "parochial assistance."

I wish you, Christian friends, to observe, moreover, the bearing of such cases as this on the question of the dependence that is to be placed on private benevolence. None could feel better disposed towards this poor blind man than his old masters. But other servants succeed, and as they too have their claims, it is no wonder that in time masters grow weary of granting pensions. The poor pensioner himself is well aware that he is utterly dependent on the continued exercise of their charitable feelings towards him. His claim upon them is one simply and exclusively of a moral character. No marvel in such a world as this, and in such a state of society of ours, such benevolence in such cases should fail. What therefore is wanted, and we repeat it, is an *adequate legal* provision administered to the poor, at least to the deserving poor, in a manner becoming men and Christians helping their fellow men, and their fellow Christians.

I may just remark upon the other case, that of starvation, which occurred about a month since, that the poor woman had applied to the relieving officer for a

doctor, and in granting her request he did not ask her if she needed help of any other kind. Touching this, opinions may be various; but why did not the poor perishing woman herself ask, or claim, as she might have done, pecuniary assistance, or at least a morsel of bread to appease her hunger? Doubtless because she knew that then the house—the union that hateful prison to so many—would be tendered in reply to her begging for bread. Rather than this, she preferred her destitute home, to endure there all those unutterable miseries of death by starvation.

But just to attain a clearer, fuller view of the body and fashion of the present time, let us carry the investigation of our Poor Law system a little further. The Union Workhouse, it would appear, with all its horrors, is to some, at times an unattainable refuge; and here, my brethren, suffer me to quote an extract from a number of the *Illustrated Times*, of the year before last. I will read it as already quoted in a published discourse of mine, entitled “A sermon for the Times”—

“The subject of our Poor-law system, and the administration of relief at our workhouses, has been prominently, and almost continuously, brought before the public for some months past. We have had women flogged at Marylebone; a fearful sketch by Charles Dickens of the wretches huddled up, throughout a bitter night upon the steps of Whitechapel Workhouse; the remonstrances of the unemployed against being compelled to perform prison labour for a pauper's crust; the Lord Mayor's unexpected visit to the miserable, bare stables appropriated to the casual poor, and the opportunity of which he availed himself of contrasting these with the comfortable beds allotted in Holloway Jail to the criminals. We have seen every day, for so long that the accustomed eye glides uninterested over the oft-repeated announcement, the application of the destitute pauper turned away from relief by the parish authorities, to the magistrate, who sends an officer to remonstrate and to require the admission of the claimant. We know how the officer is almost invariably repulsed with rudeness, until his worship arms him with a threat, which at once induces compliance. We have seen to what class of men the comfort of the indigent and aged, of the orphan and the destitute, are confided, at that mockery of a public meeting lately held at St. George's, Hanover Square, where the parochial authorities howled, stamped, yelled, and hooted, like the lowest frequenters of a penny theatre, at the proposition to establish a free public library. We have read of cases in which unfortunates have had recourse even to suicide; many prefer homeless wandering and ultimate starvation, to the relief offered within the walls of the Union. But never by any chance has the matter of workhouses been brought before us in any way calculated to awaken other feelings than those of shame and indignation. The following is the later development of the system:—On Saturday last a Mr Martin, well known for his exertions on behalf of the suffering poor, attended before Mr Hammill, at Worship Street, accompanied by a decrepit old man of nearly eighty-years of age. It appears that by great exertion Mr Martin had, about six weeks since, obtained admission into Whitechapel Workhouse for this poor old creature, who had previously gained an honest livelihood in the parish for sixty years. On Wednesday last, however, the old man was turned out into the streets, without any reason assigned. by the so-called guardians of the poor. Mr Martin applied to the Poor Law Commissioners upon the subject, and received a long, off-hand, impetinent letter, in the usual Circumlocution Office style, signed “Courtenay, Secretary.” Here, unless the authorities choose to act upon Mr Hammill's recommendation, to readmit the old man, the matter rests for the present. It may be added, that Mr Martin mentioned that the parochial authorities have, since their exposure by Mr Dickens, caused a notice to be exhibited, which announces the closing of the casual ward altogether. This is, truly, the way to avoid unnecessary trouble in answering claimants. Meanwhile, there seems but little prospect of an amendment either of the Poor Law or its administration. And yet, could the truth be known, England would probably be found to be the most truly benevolent

country in the world. The spontaneous charity of our middle and wealthy classes would alone be ample, could it but be judiciously collected and applied, to support the needy and the destitute."

Of course, it is not an unusual thing for a death to occur among these poor houseless vagrants. Suffer me then just to read here some touching lines, which I believe were penned by Mr Charles Dickens, with the heading, "A Vagrant's Death-bed"—

It may assist us in this inquiry into the spirit of the New Poor Law enactments, if we take just a glance at their operation in country parishes, as well as in London. Now it was in one of these, that in fact in which I commenced my ministry, where my attention was excited to the subject. The parish I refer to is Bishop's Hatfield, in Hertfordshire; that which, at the time, was considered a kind of model parish, on account of the interest which the noble Marquis residing there takes in parochial matters. At this Union I was called to perform some of the duties of the chaplain. On one occasion, I found the inmates in the women's room sorely distressed and bitterly complaining, because they had passed two or three nights with a corpse in the room. On another, I found that a poor old woman, upwards of ninety, very feeble and emaciated, and bent almost double, having been deprived of her quarter of a pint of porter, which had been allowed her as being on the sick list, had soon after departed to that world where the inhabitants, in the language of Holy Writ, can say, "I am no more sick." Here, too, were found lunatics and idiots, mingling with the sane, or rather half mad, rendered so by such an inhuman state of things. And yet some persons express surprise at poor people's horror of Unions! Why, surely, this horror must be the chief aim of some guardians, such as we mean as are large landlords, whether farming themselves their own land, or having under them tenant farmers.

As a further proof of the oppressive tendencies of parochial regulations in the present day, we may instance the assessment of cottage property. We express this somewhat recent innovation in the terms of its abettors and will charitably suppose that many persons in supporting it intended only that the owners, not the occupiers, should pay the poor's rate upon the cottages. But what is the fact? Already the tenants, for the most part, are compelled by their landlords to add the rate to the rent; and thus, that which was already greatly disproportioned to their weekly earnings, viz., two shillings and sixpence, or three shillings a week for rent, is now rendered still more so by this fresh impost of the rate. Of course where it is levied on the occupier, it is needless to inquire if it is refunded by the landlord. In the parish in which a published sermon of mine was preached, the writer met with a fair distressing instance of the cruelty of exacting the poor's rate *from the poor*. A labouring man who had a wife and four children, had been employed for some weeks by the parish in digging, at which he earned eight shillings, sometimes nine shillings per week (1842). He was paid, however, in *provisions*, never receiving a farthing in money, the provisions, too, being no more than necessary for the support of the family. The collector of the rate, who was also the relieving officer, and knew well the circumstances of the poor man, had meanwhile called at his miserably destitute cottage for the rate, of course without obtaining it. It happened, however, that the man got at last what was termed free labour, for which he was to be paid in money. But no sooner was he thus employed, than the collector repeated his visit at the cabin and demanded payment of the rate. It was impossible to meet the demand, for no money had been received. As yet, it was but the first week of money-paid labour. The collector, however, being determined, if possible, not to go empty away on this occasion, threatened now to take a skeleton clock, which served as an alarm by which the poor fellow was aroused to his work every morning, and was the only article in the room equal in value to the amount of the rate. But this the wife assured the deputy of mammon's worshippers, already belonged to the landlord, to whom, for some time past, as the collector himself knew, they had been unable to pay the rent. Well, you might

suppose that the official would now be at his wits' end. But not so; for he now proceeds to take out a *summons* against the poor fellow for non-payment of the rate. Emboldened, however, by the recollection of his excessive destitution, and anxious to earn a few shillings now that he has free labour, the latter presumes upon neglecting the summons, tempted thereto more especially by the consideration that to appear before a bench of magistrates at a distance of seven miles from his abode, would involve the loss of a day's work. But, alas! his non-appearance is construed into contempt, and now a *warrant* is duly signed for his apprehension, and duly executed too, for he is taken from his work before a magistrate, and sentenced to one month's imprisonment in Hertford gaol, where the writer saw him undergoing that sentence, and suffering all the undefinable horrors of the silent system. Behold, then, an instance of levying the poor's rate upon the destitute poor.

This heart-harrowing case the writer at the time put before the public in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Times*. The relieving officer himself came forth as the bold defender of the parish, in reply. And how did he do this? Why, by informing the world, that he *himself on a former occasion put his hand into his own pocket to screen this very man from the consequence of being unable to pay the rate*. Yes, the well-seasoned official even had found himself vanquished. True, extortion should be made of sterner stuff; but one word, O ye Pharoshs, for your task-masters and exactors Men's hearts are not suddenly petrified. Even steel must have time to cool before it becomes inflexible. Now all this may be found carefully stated and enlarged upon in the *Times*, and other newspapers at the close of 1842.

Having given thus a sample of the tender mercies of the Poor Law in London and in the country, let me take now just a glance at its operation in Scotland and Ireland. A seven years residence in the former of these, has given me some acquaintance with the subject. In the case of aged persons, such as are almost, if not wholly beyond work, out-door relief appears to be pretty generally afforded, and were it adequate, nothing need be added on the subject. But you constantly meet with the aged of both sexes in the shape of bold beggars; and no marvel, for the parochial aid they get is one *shilling* per week! As to the dread of the union, I will relate an incident, which affords an illustration.*

The time does not justify my adding more in Scotland. But let us pass to Ireland. Here in the south and west, the people can in truth complain of great suffering, since the introduction of the New Poor Law. There is no need, however, of vague reports. It is only to point to the awful revelations which the humane Mayor of Cork, only a few months since, made known concerning the half-starved, stunted, and loathsomely diseased state of the children who had been committed to the tender mercies of the Cork guardians. An investigation took place; and abundant testimony was adduced to prove that the dietary and general treatment were such as, if persisted in, would produce men and women only half developed, both physically and intellectually. An indignant outcry, of course, followed, and probably, little more; for the Poor Law Commissioners have just published their report, from the tone of which it is tolerably apparent that the beau-ideal of the authorities is such a balance sheet as to approve some reduction in comparison with former years. Now, if Poor Law Commissioners and Poor Law Guardians only aim at keeping down the rates by reducing the expenditure, it may easily be conceived that such a state of things as the benevolent Mayor of Cork has so nobly exposed, will only be too general. "Children eaten up with scurvy, stunted in their growth, emaciated and impotent," such as those at Cork were proved to be, from want of sufficient food of a proper character, will only, alas, be found in union workhouses throughout the three kingdoms.

* The incident here referred to is found related in a pamphlet entitled "A Few more Words on the Introduction of the Italian Opera into Edinburgh."

I have said in my letter to the *Morning Advertiser*, that "unless we retrace our steps so far," that is, as a nation, to "break off our sins by righteousness, and show mercy to the poor," poor orphan children, poor widows, poor blind and impotent persons of both sexes; in short, those that are cast out and have none to help them; God will surely continue to have a controversy with us. Yes, we must amend our ways and our doings, would we avert the threatened and most just judgments of God. It is surely the part of prudence, no less than our religious duty, to alter our course when we find that we have proceeded upon the wrong one. The prophet says—"Shall a man turn and not return?" that is, shall a man go wrong and refuse to be put right? And then, speaking for and in the name of God, he says, "But this people have revolted from Me by a perpetual blacksliding; they have refused to return;" though finding themselves wrong, they obstinately refuse to be set right. Alas, alas, the good old paths of faith, hope, and charity we have turned aside from, and all that we now do is to persecute those who would fain bring us back into their safe and peaceful, because God-commanded course. It is thus, moreover, as it regards our conduct towards those brought under our power abroad, as well as at home. Look at our doings as a nation in India. There we have unjustly dethroned a king; forced from him his kingdom; caused his family to flee into exile, where his queen dies of a broken heart, and thrust the king himself into prison, at the moment too when our nation was indebted to him to the amount of three millions, to say nothing of the debt of gratitude which we owed for his faithful employment of his influence on our behalf. Brethren, "I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say," when I ask, is not the righteous Governor of the earth causing even now the word to go forth from that throne, where at least righteousness and equity have their habitation—"Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

To revert, however, but very briefly, to the subject which has brought many of us together this evening: I said at the beginning, the melancholy occurrence upon which I have considered it my duty to address you bears another aspect. Yes, suicide is a very dreadful thing; so are many other sins, adultery, for instance; and yet you will remember, that when a woman had been taken in the very act, and set before Jesus, her crime having rendered her obnoxious to the punishment of death by stoning—a punishment which it would seem her accusers were ready at once to inflict—all that the All-knowing said was—"He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." Perhaps, having heard now somewhat, but in reality a very little of what might be said upon the subject of the tender mercies of unions, you, my brethren, with what severity soever you may be disposed to regard the crime of laying violent hands on one-self in general, would rather be silent in this case, as were the woman's accusers in hers. But though we say thus much, though we would leave all judgment till the great day, of which we spoke this morning, when we ourselves must be judged, we cannot but declare that to rush unbidden into the presence of our Creator appears to be an act wholly at variance with every part of Scripture. Paul speaks of "finishing his course;" but what does such an expression mean, but that his duties and sufferings were assigned him? Who ever of the sons of men was called to such a fight of afflictions as he? What arduous duties he had to perform, what persecutions he endured! "But out of them all the Lord delivered him." The course, then, however trying to flesh and blood, however, as he himself expresses it, he was pressed out of measure above strength, so that he "despaired even of life," yet that course through grace he would finish, go on in, until he came to the appointed end. Well, then, to every tried man and woman here before God this evening (doubtless there are many, and the heart knoweth its own bitterness) we would say, touching these afflictions, as knowing that all the faithful servants of God are appointed hereto—Bear on, struggle on, fight on, pray on. Your merciful Saviour, if you *have but faith in him and love to Him, knows all, nay, with you, feels all. He, though God over all, blessed for ever, is nevertheless bone of our bone, and flesh*

of our flesh, and on that account is not ashamed to call us brethren, the poorest and most outcast amongst us; and it is declared of Him for your and my everlasting consolation that He can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, that is, that He sympathises with our sorrows and is Himself afflicted in our afflictions, let those sorrows and afflictions be what they may; and there is added as the reason of a statement so marvellous, that He was in all points tempted or tried like as we are. Oh! think of this, thou afflicted and tossed. Let thy sins and thy sorrows be what they may, Christ, the Son of the Blessed,—Christ the seed of the woman, though Himself without sin, knows by experience all thy misery; though without guilt, He knows and pities, for He has felt the same, all thy pangs and thy anguish, all thy woes and thy wretchedness, and it is to you and such as you that He says, “Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” Yes, beloved brethren, go to Jesus for sympathy and help, and then, though you will still have need of patience before being called to inherit the promises, yet by His Spirit shall He speak the word and it shall be done, “In patience possess ye your souls.” We say, then, with St. James, when addressing the suffering poor in his day, “Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord”—and seeing that these are inspired words and written for your and my admonition, we add in the words of the text, “Hear ye now what the Lord saith.”

And now one word to *all* in conclusion. In the Providence of God you and I, my hearers, have thus been brought together face to face, how many of us for the first time in our lives, and God only knows how many of us for the last time. Solemn thought! when next we meet, eternity with all its dread realities will have burst upon our astonished view. Here is a *Union*, which, dread as we may, none can avoid entering. When next, then, some of us will meet, it will be after

“The tolling of that knell
Which summons us to heav’n or to hell.”

One parting word, then—Oh! are you the conscious partakers of that Salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory? And here take our motive for thus pleading for the honest but indigent poor. We wish *them*, too, to become the partakers of this great salvation. Were men all mortal, our philanthropy might stimulate us to do something on their behalf; but, what is the body to the soul, what is time to eternity? Oh, then, that we may be wise, that we may ponder these things, that we may understand the loving-kindness of the Lord. Then shall we possess our souls in patience here, and in God’s good time be transplanted to that world where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

ERRATA.

- Page x.—After 'as such,' supply 'has been taught.'
- „ 14.—*Dele* comma after 'observations.'
- „ 27.—For 'creditably,' read 'credibly.'
- „ 52-53.—After 'confidence,' read 'is or is placed.'
- „ 56.—For 'primitive,' read 'punitive.'
- „ 57.—After 'profess,' read 'that.'
- „ 57.—For *ανανη*, read *ἀνανη*.
- „ 59.—For 'referrable,' read 'referable.'

Works by the Rev. Richard Hibbs, M.A.,

As noticed by the *Illustrated News of the World*, March 3, 1860.

- “GOD’S PLEA FOR THE POOR.” London : Hatchard.
- “THE SUBSTANCE OF A SERIES OF DISCOURSES ON BAPTISM.”
London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co.
- “REMARKS ON THE ITALIAN OPERA IN EDINBURGH.”
Edinburgh : Kennedy.
- “A FEW MORE WORDS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE
ITALIAN OPERA INTO EDINBURGH.” Edinburgh : Moodie
and Lothian.
- “SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL ROMANISM.” Edinburgh : Paton and Ritchie.
- “TRUTH VINDICATED.” Fifth Edition. London : Simpkin, Marshall,
and Co.

“As the champion for the poor, the author has been a martyr for the poor.”—EDITOR.

From the *Manchester Review*, February 11th, 1860, respecting the
above publications :—

“The author of these pamphlets is a minister of an Episcopal Chapel at Edinburgh. . . . He has been chiefly and most honorably conspicuous for his devotedness to the interests of the poor. . . . It is a common notion that persecution in our own day has ceased ; but they who entertain this notion have only to read the deeply interesting narratives whose titles we have given.”

Other notices of “TRUTH VINDICATED” :—

“This is a withering, scorching *exposé*.”—*Caledonian Mercury*.

“As a proof of the evils of voluntaryism, it is one of the most important, though painful, documents we have ever seen. We think it but right to say, that from its internal evidence, it is manifest that an exposure of strifes and hearthburnings, which are a disgrace, and had better been covered than exposed, was rendered absolutely necessary by the manner in which Mr Hibbs had been assailed.”—*From the Evening Packet, Dublin*.

“We know nothing personally of Mr Hibbs. We know, indeed, nothing farther of him than that he has built a chapel in Edinburgh, where he appears to minister faithfully in the vineyard of Christ ; and although it is the bounden duty of every Christian, and especially of every Christian minister, to forgive his enemies, yet we consider that it is equally due to himself to defend his character,” &c., &c.—*From Macphail’s Ecclesiastical Journal* (notice of third edition).



